Tupoutoa (Tukuaho's son) was in Haapai when the news came that Tukuaho was 643
killed by Tupouniua and Ulukalala. 173

Finau, who was beside Tukuaho upon his assassination, was his daughter by Fangafua,
his cousin. [Fangafua is not given in the lists as a wife of Tukuaho.] The child 175
lived. When news came that Tukuaho was dead, Fangafua was carried to Pangai, 682
then to Mua, where lay Tukuaho's body. Ata Tofuaipangai, Fangafua's father, instructed 768
that she be strangled so that she might die together with her lord, to which Fangafua agreed. The chiefs said that she was to be buried by the side of her husband, but Ata protested, "No, she is to be taken to Hihifo." So they started to strangle Fangafua, Ulakai standing on the left side, Uhilamoelangi on the right. But Uhilamoelangi could not pull the rope, for he loved his mother. [Apparently Fangafua was not Uhilamoelangi's natural mother. The Tamaha genealogies make him the son of Halaevalukovi, Tukuaho's sister.] Fangafua thereupon took his side of the rope and helped him to pull it. Then she died. Ata ordered her body to be taken to Hihifo, where all the chiefs went. Then Ata said that after Fangafua was buried they would make war. They arrived in Hihifo and sat up for one night with Fangafua's corpse.
When morning came she was buried. Meanwhile, Halaevalukovi (full sister of the 644
slain Tukuaho) stayed by the beach in Hihifo in a little Tongan house mourning for 643
Tukuaho. She stayed there for about a month while Hihifo was getting ready for war. 173

One morning Vahai came with some kava and stood outside Halaevalukovi's house 175
and spoke thus to her: "Why does this silly woman stay near the beach?" She did 765
not answer and he had to speak again.

Then she answered, "Why do you want to know?"

Then entering with his kava he said, "Stand up and beat the kava for me to drink and I will dry your tears."

She answered: "Who said so?"

He replied, "I said so." Then Halaevalukovi sent some girls to go and get all the
necessary things for the kava. When the things were brought Halaevalukovi made the [276]
kava and then told Vahai that it was ready. Vahai had a drink. He would not allow anyone else to drink as he wanted it all for himself. He had a second bowl and a third. Then he told Halaevalukovi to stand up and go outside and empty the kava out, for he had had the three chief kavas. Then he said good-bye and went away, telling Halaevalukovi to wait and see what happened.

When Vahai returned from Halaevalukovi he went straight to Haa Vakatolo, to the 173
house of Ahomee, and called out and asked for the men. Ahomee told him they had 175
gone to the Liku. Vahai told him to go and tell them to return. Vahai then went on 669
to Foui while Ahomee went for the men. When Vahai arrived in Foui he got all his 726
men together and told them to get ready, as they were to have war on all Tonga. When Ahomee got all his men together they went to Foui and the war started. [For account of the fighting, see 17, p. 140; 16, p. 90.]

After the burial of Tukuaho, Tupoutoa came to Tongatabu, from Haapai, while 644
Ulukalala went to Vavau. When Tupoutoa arrived in Tonga he got all his brothers 173
and sisters and they went to Hihifo and knelt before the sun and prayed for [their 175
father's sister] Halaevalukovi. Then they went to see her and their mother Lepolo, for 782
that was the first time they had gone to them since the death of their father Tukuaho. They knelt before the sun with their heads bowed till afternoon. Then Ulakai came and spoke to Halaevalukovi, "Why do you not speak to your people? They have been here all day and you have said nothing." So Halaevalukovi went and asked them to come in. Then she and the people of Hihifo prepared ovens of food (*feiumu*) to welcome her
people. There were many pigs killed, the reason being that in Tonga a woman [father's [562]
sister] in the family is always the highest chief. After their welcome the brothers and sisters came to Nukualofa.

15. Maafuolimuloa. Maafuolimuloa, Tukuaho's successor as Tui Kanokupolu, was, 643
according to the Tamaha Amelia, not in the line of succession for the office of Tui 173
Kanokupolu. He was the great grandson of the third Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko 175
and brother of the great chief Maafutukuiaulahi (personal name Tangatailavalu) of

> assembly, than one stepped forth from the circle, and proclaimed, "No bou Toogahowe Dugonagaboola fy talliaba gee ma toolou," i. e., Toogahowe shall be the chief, and we will do as we please; upon which he was unanimously elected, as none dare to oppose him. 643 622

A prominent chief of the lineage Haa Ngata Motua (also the matapule Kama) informed me that Ata and Veehala of that lineage selected each new Tui Kanokupolu without consultation with other chiefs. However, the following account from Koe Fafagu (33) of appointments of Tui Kanokupolu following the murder of Tukuaho indicates that Ata and Veehala did not always act independently. [613]

> Maafulimuloa was appointed Tui Kanokupolu after Mulikihaamea at the instigation of Vahai who went and spoke to Lavaka and the other Haa Havea chiefs and their people and to Ata and Veehala and told them to bring Maafulimuloa to be the Tui Kanokupolu. So Maafulimuloa was made Tui Kanokupolu and when he died there was no immediate successor. Then came to Tonga Tukuaho's brother Tupoumalohi, who lived much in Fiji. Lavaka and Maafu (probably Maafutukuiaulahi) spoke to him about the office of Tui Kanokupolu. He was appointed. After a time Tupoumalohi ceased to rule.
>
> Then came more war. A party of people under Tupoutoa came from Haapai to fight against the chief Takai of Pea. After peace was established Takai spoke to Maafu and Lavaka and some others and said, "Bring Tupoutoa to be Tui Kanokupolu, so there will be no more war between Haapai, Vavau, and Tongatabu." So it was done. 643 622 726 669
>
> When Takai died, Tupoutoa threatened war against Fae (Takai's brother), saying Takai was the only brave man in Tongatabu. On Fae's side were Maafu, Lavaka, Tupouleva, Fohe, Vaea, Fielakepa, Tui Vakano, Ata, Veehala, and Fatu, all chiefs who had fought to avenge Tukuaho's death. In fact the two great lineages Haa Havea and Haa Ngata Motua supported Fae. This war did not materialize and so Tupoutoa went to live at Mua as Tui Kanokupolu. There he stayed entertaining evil thoughts against these chiefs. When he died his body was taken to Uiha Island, Haapai, and buried in the great tomb there which contains the remains of the Uiha chiefs bearing the title of Malupo, as well as those of Tupoutoa and some of his relatives.
>
> After Tupoutoa's death, Fae went to speak to Maafu, Lavaka, Vaea, and all their people about appointing another Tui Kanokupolu. Fae pointed out that there were three possibilities, Aleamotua, Ulakai, and Fatu. The Haa Havea and Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and some others said that Aleamotua was to be king. Others said that Ulakai should be king. The argument in favor of Aleamotua was that he was the father of Fatu and Ulakai. Lavaka, Maafu, Vaea, Ata, and Veehala agreed as to what Palenapa Lavaka had said and made Aleamotua king. 643 622

A manuscript account indicates that Ulakai, Tupoutoa's brother was named as Tupoutoa's successor, being appointed at Uiha Island, Haapai, but apparently never being formally inducted into office. According to West (62, p. 57) there was no Tui Kanokupolu from the time of Tupoutoa's death in 1820 till the elevation of Aleamotua (Josiah Tupou) in 1826. 643

It is said that the Tui Tonga had nothing to say about the selection of the Tui Kanokupolu—a statement which probably applies only to appointments after the year 1800. When the succession was not clear the chiefs of the several lineages (Haa Ngata Motua, Haa Havea, and Fale Fisi in particular) conferred until a suitable man was selected. [622] [613]

tabu. The informant knew of no special activities of berdaches, except that 838
they took part in fighting like men. The informant conceived the *fakafafine* [701]
as hermaphrodites rather than as real males with feminine tendencies. Two adjectives, *fakafefine* and *fakafafine*, are used to characterize "men who have the habits of women and do the work of women."

WARFARE

Some rather lengthy accounts of the campaigns of King George I Tupou, 701
both before and after he became Tui Kanokupolu, were obtained, but very little concerning the earlier Tongan armies:

> In a large army (*tau*) the commander-in-chief merely gave orders and was not 701
> expected to participate in the actual fighting unless he so wished. The Tui Haa Taka-
> laua Mulikihaamea, who was killed in the fighting in 1799 was carried in a palanquin 726
> when travelling with his army and was actually slain in it when hostile troops (*tangata tau*) surrounded him. It is said also that in the army of Vahai of the same troublous period, Vahai did not lead the troops in person, but merely gave orders. In much of the fighting by Taufaahau's (King George I) army, he himself was not the leader on the field of battle. Perhaps the organization of the Christian Tongan legion which fought in Fiji (54, p. 361) under Maafuotuitonga gives some idea of how Tongan armies were officered. The informant Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, who fought at Matuatu, near Taviuni, Fiji, said that there were two hundred men in the Tongan force. The head of the expedition was Maafuotuitonga, of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. He took no part in the fighting and Vainikolo, a chief of medium rank, was the actual commander (*eikitau*). Vainikolo had several aides called assistant war-chiefs (*tokoni eikitau*) who transmitted his orders. Of these, one was Kisione Vave, a mata-
> pule; another was Tui, a chief; and a third was Takulua, a man of uncertain rank. [411]
> Guns were used by this expedition.

Troops were mixed as to rank, comprising lesser chiefs and matapules 701
as well as commoners. The *eikitau* (commander) was the strongest and best 565
fighter. Ability seems to have played a greater part than nobility in the matter of military leadership. However, the commander-in-chief was usually a person of high rank, but the commanders of the *kongakau* (regiment) and *matanga* (company) seem often to have been matapule men rather than chiefs. Thus Takai, the famous one-eyed leader of Pea, is said to have been a matapule, as was his brother and successor, Fae. Moeakiola, son of Takai and
successor of Fae, was also a matapule. The builder of the fortresses of [712]
Koloteekiu and Kolovai, Tongatabu, constructed about the beginning of the nineteenth century, was Ohuafi, son of the matapule Motuapuaka. Because Koloteekiu was not large enough to accommodate his people he built Kolovai. Kolonukunuku, near Nukunuku, Tongatabu, was built by a Tui Vakano, chief of Nukunuku before the time of King George I. (The term *kolo* means fortress.)

The earliest traditional Tongan account (some traditional Samoan ac- 701
counts antedate it) of a war expedition, to capture the assassins of the Tui 643
Tonga Takalaua, makes Kauulufonua, who later became Tui Tonga, the 173

leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufilitonga, 701
before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against 643
Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition 173
goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant 701
war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. Warriors [302]
of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called [714]
malumalu, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes.
When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be 701
a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged 725
the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong 701
or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war and also to announce [534]
the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of [202]
the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that 505
the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides 701
the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands.
The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and 721
then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large 505
numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa 648
in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually comprised 712
an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons. A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowadays a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village.
McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore [552]
names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies particularly 725
to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, 726
taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp. 363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

did not see the wall." The term *alaipuke* means "to take the outer works of 725
a fortress"; *tele* means "to charge the enemy from the rear." 726

Public boasting by individual warriors before a combat was a common 701
practice. An important brave would brandish his club before the commander 726
and tell what he would do. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on [276]
the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge [574]
themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast
that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged
him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of [276]
the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, the chief's own cup (17, pp. 142-143). The first slain enemy was called the *uluafi* (literally, head of fire).

A particularly vindictive and insulting way to kill an enemy was to render 726
him helpless, then drink a coconut while sitting on his prostrate body. This was done by Tupoutoa in slaying Tupouniua in Mariner's time, to avenge the assassination of Tupoutoa's father, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. The victim was killed not in battle, but was caught unarmed after a bath.

Bodies of troops were classified as *matanga* (company) and *kongakau* 701
(regiment). The number of men in each is not known but it seems likely that *matanga* was the smaller body, as it was comprised of troops commanded by a single chief, and that a *kongakau* presumably comprised two or more *matanga*. However, Baker (2) defines both terms as "regiment" and the Catholic dictionary (46) gives the added meaning of "people of a locality" for the term *kongakau*. The term *kapisi* denotes the wing of an army.

Three *kongakau* are said to have existed anciently in Tongatabu, the *kongakau* of Haamea, of Utulau, and of Matakehe, each consisting of the men of a whole district. King George I made a new *kongakau*, that of Haa Vakatolo. The *kongakau* Matakehe belonged to the Tui Tonga. The other two ancient ones may have been under the Tui Kanokupolu or Tui Haa Takalaua. In a manuscript by the chief Maatu I find references to what may be bodies of troops.

> Haa Vakatolo and Lolopaongo [near Foui, Tongatabu?] are the people (regiments?) who belong on the side of the Tui Kanokupolu. Haamalo [near Lapaha] is on the side of the Tui Tonga. Haamalo Matakehe and Pelehake [near Alaki?] are the people (regiments?) on the side of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early nineteenth century at least, the practice of eating some of 727
the slain enemies had arisen, due, so Mariner (40) says, to Fijian influence. 266
The corpse of an enemy was contemptuously referred to as *pakola*, a Fijian 177
term said to signify "underneath."

The term *fakaulu* denotes the custom of bringing the slain troops of one's 727
(according to a modern informant) own army and placing them before the

[ca. 1812]

THE WAR OF TAKAI AT FELETOA, VAVAU*

Ulukalala [II] died in Vavau and was buried at Feletoa. His son, Moengangongo, 173
ruled, assisted by the brother of Ulukalala called Naufisi [Finau Fisi]. While Haapai 669
was given to Tupoutoa, the son of Tukuaho, but Moengangongo did not rule long in 726
Vavau. He died very soon and Naufisi ruled in Vavau. He was assassinated by Halaapiapi who then ruled in Vavau. Halaapiapi was assassinated by Paunga, a chief of the Tui Tonga family.

Paunga stirred up war at Vavau against Tupoutoa, who had just been appointed Tui Kanokupolu, because Tupoumalohi, who was Tui Kanokupolu after the besieging of Nukualofa by Ulukalala [II] who is buried at Feletoa, abdicated and retired. And Takai dwelt (or ruled) in Pea, and ruled in Tonga. He spoke to Maafu, Lavaka, and the chiefs of the Haa Havea and Haa Ngatamotua, to Ata and Veehala, to bring Tupoutoa, the father of Taufaahau, and make him Tui Kanokupolu. That was the reason why he was made king [in 1812].

And Takai gave his daughter Pule in marriage to Tupoutoa and they went and dwelt at Lifuka. Paunga of Vavau prepared war against Tupoutoa and they fought and fought but neither was victorious. Tupoutoa went to Haapai on his way to fetch warriors from Takai in Tonga. When Pule heard that Tupoutoa was going, she sent a message to her father Takai: "Tupoutoa is going over to ask you for warriors. See that you grant them." That message was brought and Takai held a promulgation (*fono*) at Pea. He told the people to prepare to receive the visitors and the preparation was made at the green called Vakataumai at Maufanga, Tongatabu. The visitors arrived and food was collected and prepared, and the green was covered with the baskets of of food so great was the quantity. It was portioned out twice, then told to be portioned out three times, and finally the dividing reached seven times. That reception was called Lofitu (seven times).

After the reception Takai arranged with Tupoutoa for Tupoutoa to go to Haapai, while he prepared his warriors and then he would follow. Tupoutoa went to Haapai and assembled all the Haapai troops at Lifuka. Word was then sent from Lifuka to Nomuka that as soon as the canoes arrived from Tonga a message was to be sent. When the voyagers arrived at Haapai everything was ready. A house had been built on the beach, half by the people of Huluipaongo and half by the people of Koulo. [Huluipaongo and Koulo are respectively at the southern and northern ends of Lifuka Island.] And they cooked the pigs and cut them up. All the backs of the pigs were taken and put on the top of the ridge of the house. They wanted to outdo the reception Lofitu.

After that, they sailed for Vavau and upon reaching it commenced the siege of the fortress of Feletoa. When Takai knew that they had conquered the fortress, he asked Tupoutoa, "What is to be done? Are they to be exterminated or taken alive?"
And Tupoutoa answered, "Let them live." The fortress capitulated and its inmates [727]
were taken alive.

And Tupoutoa said, "Takai, I have nothing to reward your army with. I will leave it to the people of the fortress to seek something for you." They [presumably Takai's troops] destroyed all the look-out places, like Kafoa, and they split the stones, which caused the chiefs [of Feletoa] to be angry with them. And they [the people of the fortress] arranged to assassinate Takai and his people. When it was dark an old woman came and awakened Takai and said: "Oh, Takai, you sleep, but here are the chiefs of this fort arranging to assassinate you in the morning, when you go to the morning kava. In the morning, when it was beginning to get light, Takai called an old woman, his servant, to come. He scolded her, and passed his club to and fro. The people saw and said: "The club of Takai has a longing for food." Suddenly he hit the woman and killed her, and cut her up. The guilty chiefs and people were ter-

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*Translated by Beatrice Shirley Baker, from account as told by Malio Ahio, and recorded by Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc (33, pp. 77-80, August, 1906).

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812-1845]

rified, and said, "Takai knows about the intended assassination." They tried to 173
pacify Takai and took refuge with the priest and those whom he favored. 669

But Takai was satisfied and he said: "Tupoutoa, we did not come to Vavau to seek 726
wealth, but as your warriors, and here are you preparing to assassinate us. I will sail for Otea, and if you have a man let him come and we will fight." And they loaded and sailed for Otea and waited there. And Vavau and Tupoutoa were more afraid than ever at what Takai had said. And they decided to try again for reconciliation with Takai.

They talked and talked and decided that Vuki should ask permission to sail with him to Haapai and Tonga, because they were afraid lest Takai should go to Haapai and destroy everything and kill the people. So Vuki went to Otea. And Takai granted Vuki's request and after about five days they left. Vuki went with them to Haapai. Takai did nothing there because of his love for Vuki. They stayed a very short time at Haapai, then left for Tonga. Two or three years after the war at Feletoa, Takai died, [presumably about 1815 or 1816], and his younger brother [Fae] ruled in his place at Pea.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU TUPOUTOA AND HIS SON TAUFAAHAU, 1812-1845[1]

I will not relate in this narrative the wars that were fought in former times, because that was the way of this foolish land, as though they ate the war as food.
But we will talk about the war that was fought by the heathen. The war that 173
Tupoutoa, the lord or father of Taufaahau, fought was waged during the time of a 669
great epidemic called *ngangau* (pain in the head). That sickness was brought by a 164
vessel from Fiji. The vessel's name was Uluvalu. The sickness raged badly in the 731
three groups, Tonga, Haapai, and Vavau. It is said that they were not able to carry 726
the dead away and bury them. It was at this time that the war came to the remnant
of people that escaped. 726

The army faced from Hihifo towards the middle district of Tongatabu and it 173
is said that the army was instructed by the chief Vaea of Houma to have the heads 669
of their warriors bound with coconut fiber rope and fastened with a wedge, so that
their heads should not be smashed with the club. The armies met at a fortress called [714]
Teekiu. Then a very strong army of the famous warrior Takai of Pea, came up
behind them and the army of the Tui Kanokupolu was surrounded. Suddenly a great 173
applause was heard and the king's warriors disputed and turned around. The people 726
said that they had not applauded but that it was the gods that had applauded. Any- 669
way, that was the way that the king's warriors knew that they were surrounded.
Tupoutoa commanded that the bands of warriors should turn back to back so that the front lines should face the fortress and the back lines face the enemy at the rear. As they did so the armies clashed. They fought towards the fort, but the army at the back was pressing strongly on them, even though the warriors were not afraid, because they had confidence in Vunivalu's command, which was good. If they had been few in number and afraid, or if the king had not been there to lead, it could not have been done. This was the king of the family of Lolopaongo [Vahai] and Haa Vakatolo. The army of Takai was badly hit by the band of warriors at the back. The army facing the fort also did good work. It is said that Takai was badly wounded in this battle. He would have been killed had it not been for his brave
warriors. After the battle Tupoutoa asked for a reconciliation, and they had peace. [728]
Each chief went with his own people and dwelt in his own fort, and Tonga was left to the rule of Tupoutoa.

There were wars that were fought at Vavau and which originated perhaps by the uprising of Vavau. After a time Tupoutoa became angry, collected the warriors of Tonga and went and fought Vavau and conquered it. He removed the chiefs and took

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[1] Upon the request of J. Jiosaia Hau, the scribe of Wellington Tupou-Malohi Ngu (King George II's mother's brother, who would have been king had he lived), this narrative has been dictated by Peter Vi (3).

[1812 - 1845]

them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king 173
over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and
the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest 669
so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled 726
in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofoou, Vaini,
and Fuamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors
of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The
king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they
had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because
they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting.

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how [177]
to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting
in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide [713]
and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three 173
vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied 725
them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the
shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in 669
the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them 726
so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it
had not been for this they might have succeeded.

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There [411]
was a gun in the fort and the chief Otunuku of Haano was wounded by it in the
face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was
brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in
his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the
vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the
use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was
a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the
king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery
they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (*longa*,
a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuiahau who
was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by
the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa 173
saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He 669
made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten. [728]

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; [727]
and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu
was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he
should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed 173
there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his 643
party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was 763
done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war.
As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that
they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would
leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it
came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he
died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820.

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they 173
should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that 643
his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa 764 -
was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from
Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was
ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo
as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uiha themselves. And it was reported that
[the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing
cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people

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of Nukualofa, the friends of Tupoutoa were like the seaweed that is taken by the 173
current, they separated themselves and stayed as though they had joined Tonga. Only 643
Ulakai, the paternal half brother of Tupoutoa, came with a few men. When the 764
fleet arrived at Uiha they took Tupoutoa's body on shore. And after the *toloveifua*
ceremony (presentation of gifts to bereaved) and the *ta-mee* (dancing) and the ceremonies
of the funeral were over, Ulakai was appointed king at Veilupesia (in Uiha).
That commenced the disturbance at Haapai. 173

Neither Haapai nor Vavau had any love for Ulakai, because of the separation 669
of Nukualofa from them. Fuapau joined Tui Haa Ngana and they took Ulakai to 726
Haa Ngana as though they had joined together; and Uhila stayed at Uiha and the
Lulunga (western Haapai) people went to Tungua. The Lofanga people went to
their own island. Laufilitonga (later Tui Tonga) went to Velata and dug strong fortifications 173
there. Tuita went to Pangai and Ulukalala went to Toa. Each dug his 669
fort. They did not dig fortifications for war but for protection, as no one had been 712
appointed as supreme ruler over them. They did this while waiting for the *toloveifua* 726
that was said to be coming from Tonga. Taufaahau (later King George I) was [884]
still going about as a youth with Ulukalala, because he had not reached his thirtieth
year. Vavau rose up and dug fortifications: the forts of Lua and Vuki at Feletoa
stood for Haapai. Tonga waited, then sent three vessels. It was not war, they 173
came only to see Ulakai. They chose the bravest warriors in Tonga to come. The 669
ship with three houses on deck (*falevakatolu*) and the canoe with two houses on [501]
deck (*falevakaua*) and the ship with eight houses on deck, all had come because
Haapai was in confusion. The Tui Haa Teiho sided with Fuapau and Ulakai. They
had come trusting to that perhaps. They all assembled at Haano, the vessels from
Tonga, Haapai, and Ulukalala's vessels from Vavau. Ulukalala's vessels went perhaps
to see what the other vessels were doing. There was an entertainment which was [574]
called *mangisi* (feast prepared for strangers) because there was a vessel that had
just arrived from Fiji.

The vessels were prepared and approached like the *veli* (a water insect like a 173
centipede). They said, "Fight," and Fuapau answered, "Fight." Fuapau was not 669
still siding with Ulakai and the vessels from Tonga, but with Haapai's party. But
Tui Haa Teiho still sided with Ulakai and his vessels and was one with them. Ulukalala 726
and his vessels stayed at a distance at Loloko and did not go to the feast.
Only a few of them went and the war was suppressed. After that Ulakai returned
to Tonga. Then Haapai settled down in peace. Vessels were prepared to take Ulukalala
to Vavau and all Haapai went. Some people of the chief Vuki were murdered
and there was nearly war. But Ulukalala's people were crafty and soon they were
reconciled, and Ulukalala went and dwelt at Feletoa. The Haapai people returned to
their own island. And they dwelt thus as though Vavau were submissive to Vuki.
They watched each other like two male turtles, smooth on the surface only.

One day Vuki went down to have a bath in the stream Tufutele. When he came [515]
out of the water he met Ulukalala in the road. They conversed pleasantly, and Ulukalala
invited him to go with him to his place and have some kava. Messages were
sent to Ulukalala's people to come and make the kava and Vuki was asked to stay
in the inclosure of Finau (Ulukalala) while men were sent to club Vuki's people,
the people that had clubbed Taliauli-Malohi. Vavau subsided and proved the truth
of the saying of Taufaahau: "Vavau is like a handful of dry sand." They let down
Vuki whom they had upheld, while they turned and upheld Ulukalala. It is true what
Satulo says, "I will not be friendly with a double tongued people." Vuki was banished
to Haapai and Finau (Ulukalala) was supreme ruler at Vavau. He portioned out
the land at Vavau and he gave each of the chiefs a piece of land. The piece of
land called Leimatua belonged to Taufaahau. Finau (Ulukalala) knew that that piece
of land was Taufaahau's, so he ill treated the people. Taufaahau knew that the people
were ill treated because of him, so he sent word to the elders (or principal men)
to go and tell Finau that he had given back the land to him, to please himself as to
whom he would give it. It was done, and Taufaahau withdrew. Just about that time

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a vessel arrived from Haapai to tell Finau and Taufaahau of the marriage of Halaevalu 173
Mataaho (Taufaahau's sister) to Tui Haa Teiho. That seemed to show the ill feeling
of Ulukalala because he would not let a good vessel, or anyone as sent from him, go 669
to the feast. But Taufaahau went in the Lofanga vessel that had brought the news. 726
He went in the small vessel called Fungahaafuluhao and they were Ulukalala's own relations, Matetau and Fakatulolo and some others who accompanied him. Ulakai came from Tonga with two vessels with a great number of people. All Haapai assembled at Tungua for the ceremony. After that the people of Vavau were sent back, but Taufaahau remained at Haapai and dwelt at Pangai, Lifuka.

It was apparent that Taufaahau's disposition or ability was not hidden from these two groups. If we refer to ancient games, there was no one like him. At all the games of the different entertainments he was the best, the handsomest, and the most ready to perform. The Tui Tonga [Laufilitonga, who was actually not yet Tui Tonga] dwelt with a great number of people in his fort of Velata, Lifuka, and strengthened it. It was awful the way that Taufaahau and his few people were treated. Taufaahau could not stand it so he went to war. Foa Island sided with the Tui Tonga and the warriors of the Tui Tonga acted discreetly. They were afraid lest Taufaahau's warriors would rush upon Fangaleounga, Foa, so they therefore sent a *tokaikolo* (person familiar with the place) there. That night Taufaahau's warriors forded 173
over Makapulepule (the reef connecting Lifuka and Foa islands), and lay in ambush 725
outside the fort till it was dawn. When it was nearly dawn they climbed over the 726
fence and killed the people in the fort. The *tokaikolo* was also killed. Many escaped 669
and were saved, but many were killed. They burnt the fort and returned to Lifuka.

After that they sat and watched each other, the Tui Tonga in the fortress Velata and Taufaahau's warriors at Pangai, Lifuka. At this time Taufaahau was appointed Tui Haapai. Suddenly the warriors of the Tui Tonga from Velata made a rush, thinking to storm the fort of Tui Haapai at Pangai. They came one day at noon. It was a big army, as nearly all Haapai was there. Tui Haapai's warriors tried to withstand them. The battle raged and they shouted from the seaside of the fort that they were nearly overcome and Taufaahau went to their assistance and turned out the enemy. A little while after they shouted from the land side of the fort that they were nearly overcome and he rushed to their assistance. Others shouted from different places. Taufaahau always went to their assistance. Just like a god was Taufaahau in this battle, in his fighting for his fort. They fought till night and the fort was not taken, but the enemy seized Taufaahau's vessels and said, "We will leave the taking of the fort till tomorrow morning." But that night Taufaahau sent a vessel to Malupo at Uiha with a message, saying, "Here am I left alone. I expect the fighting to be renewed at dawn." The warriors came that night and in the morning the fort was in an excited state for war. The enemy thought they had received reinforcements, as there seemed a great number in the fort and a gun shot was heard.
But it was only Taufaahau's little army of the day before. They were few and had [411]
no guns, but he was able to withstand the army of the Tui Tonga, although they
were many and had guns. The first man to be shot was Malu and he died. Then [411
they [the Tui Tonga's troops] knew that Taufaahau's troops were in the fort, as there
was a European gun. They all retreated, taking shelter behind big *puko* trees. They 177]
kept shouting for the garrison to come outside the fence and the garrison shouted in return for them to come into the fort. They kept up the fighting from outside, but it was no use. And at last it was known to the warriors from Tungua, Nomuka, Haafeva, and Lofanga islands and they entered Taufaahau's fort as reinforcements. Now Velata began to get into difficulties.

Ulukalala at Vavau heard that there was war and they (he and the chiefs) 173
consulted together to put an end to the war. And Taufaahau and Laufilitonga 728
agreed and the war ended. Finau said that Taufaahau was to be Tui Haapai (ruler 669
of Haapai) and that Haapai was to be his, but he was to be peaceful and go and dwell at Uiha and the other islands and leave the Tui Tonga to dwell at Lifuka,

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because if they dwelt near together their people would not dwell in peace but would 669 create discord. Then there would be another war. The Tui Haapai listened and 173 they were reconciled and then he went to Uiha. Ulukalala did this perhaps because 728 he thought that Tui Haapai would not be contented to live at Uiha, but Taufaahau went and dwelt at Mataaho, Uiha, and often went to Lofanga. There he built his 173 ship called Lolohea. When it was finished he brought it to Uiha to make its sails. 669 After some time he sailed to Tonga and went and lived with Maafu and had dancing 726 entertainments with the children of Maafu. But the people of Tonga did not like that as they were afraid, for they knew that he was a strong man. After staying some time, he went to Eua on a friendly visit to Kaufana. He took with him two fishing canoes. He returned from there with three guns. He came and stayed some [411] time in Tonga, then prepared to sail for Haapai. Some thought that when he reached Haapai that there would be a disturbance. Some men went with him from Tonga.

When they came it seemed that the people of the Tui Tonga wished to cause strife. If their vessel went to the outer islands, they caused a disturbance. It was too much for Taufaahau to stand.

He prepared the biggest vessel in Haapai for him to sail to Tonga and it was [501] called the Uluvalu (*ulu*, head; *valu*, eight). More than a hundred people could go in her, and he sailed from Lifuka and stopped at Haafeva. And Taufaahau said that there should be a vessel from the Tui Tonga's fort sailing with him. His brother (or cousin) Fuatalevu was a chief that had been to Fiji, and Taufaahau loved him. That was the way, as it is now, with Taufaahau—his love for his enemies made him fight only when driven to it by aggression. He did not wish to take the vessel. Taufaahau's warriors were very angry and crashed their weapons. They went on board their vessel with him and returned to Uiha. The other vessel remained. When they reached Uiha the Tui Tonga was there with his people. They came and pushed Taufaahau's people. That day passed and still Taufaahau did not wish to fight the people of the vessels of Laufilitonga.

Next morning the people of the Tui Tonga went on board their vessels. Had they all gone it would have been all right, but the warriors were told not to sail to Tatafa Island but to go overland there. They went and pushed the warriors of Taufaahau, who were at the land's end, to the sand and both sides said, "Velo! (Throw the spear), Velo!" A man called Kuli, on the Tui Tonga's side, threw the spear. Moalatea was killed. The warriors from Velata (the Tui Tonga's warriors) were chased and they went over the ford connecting Uiha and Tatafa. Taufaahau was then told that it was war. He pursued them over the ford, but the army of the Tui Tonga had reached Tatafa. Taufaahau gave chase but the enemy was too far ahead. The guns were fired from the Tui Tonga's side and killed one of the warriors of Taufaahau. Taufaahau's warriors chased them till they escaped in their vessels at the end of the land at Auhangamea (the northern end of Tatafa Island). But one vessel's anchor caught and it was dragged on shore. The rest of the vessels sailed for Lifuka. Taufaahau's warriors ran back to Uiha. They ran and put food into their vessels at Veitupu. I should think that they ran nearly three miles and the vessels sailed and chased the enemy to Lifuka. If their vessels had been near they might have caught the Tui Tonga's vessels and killed the people or killed them at sea. But when they reached Lifuka all the warriors had gone to their own places and they fought from outside. And Lavulavu was sent to the Tui Tonga's chiefs to tell them they had chased them at their own wish. It was for what they had done, but they had escaped here. "Well let them stay and take care of their land, while we go back to our island." They set sail and returned to Uiha.

A message from Taufaahau was sent to the outer islands as far as Nomuka for them to assemble, as it was to be war. It was as though the army of the Tui Tonga had gone mad. They each became drunk and went to Foa to attend to other things. They thought that war would not start so soon, but after about five days all the different islands had assembled and Taufaahau led or steered the fleet. The fort (Velata, the Tui Tonga's fort) knew that they were coming and all

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assembled at the seashore to receive them, but Taufaahau's side had arranged before 173
they came that should there be any shooting they would not stop the paddling and 669
the pushing of the canoes, but would continue till they reached the shore. They
came and the army on shore fired on the army in the vessels. Some were killed but 726
they continued. Taufaahau's vessel backed to the land and his warriors landed and chased Laufilitonga's troops, who scattered. A man called Meakaifolau (food for the voyagers) killed the first one and then they killed and chased the fugitives till they reached Velata. The fugitives entered the fort in confusion.

While the army of Taufaahau was still in disorder, two chiefs from Foa came down with their band of warriors. They attacked Taufaahau's army on the flank. The dead floated in the sea. Another part of Taufaahau's army surrounded the warriors from Foa, and killed many of them. They nearly exterminated them, but the two chiefs were good leaders and led the small remainder to Laufilitonga's fort. Night came and Taufaahau's army withdrew and slept at Pangai. Next morning Taufaahau and his vessels went to Foa to see if the people wanted war. If they did then they should die. Anyone wishing to live must not fight. When they arrived they found that all Foa had assembled at Faleloa and Taufaahau wished them to be allowed to live. That report was taken to Haano, that the Foa people were not to be killed. The same was done there (Haano). Whoever wanted to die was to prepare to fight and who wanted to live was to remain peaceful. The vessels went and anchored at Kanokano and Tui Haa Ngama (chief of Haano) sued for pardon for himself and his people. But Taufaahau's warriors wished to continue the fight and not to grant the pardon. Tuita, a chief in Foa, sued for mercy from Taufaahau, that they might live. He asked Taufaahau to remember how Fuapau and Otunuku had sworn to live and die for Tupoutoa (Taufaahau's father, who was buried at Uiha), when he made war on Vavau, and also on Tonga. And Taufaahau through his love pardoned them. And those from the vessel and those that had been pardoned went to Malae Kilikili where a fort had been built. The barricade was made of coconut trunks, breadfruit
trees, papau trees, banana trunks, etc. They starved out the fort. There were many [725]
European guns at this fort, and many of Taufaahau's people were killed and wounded [411]
by the guns, because they would try to dodge in front of the guns. After a while there [177]
was a battle and a chief, who was a brave warrior of the fort, came out with his men. His name was Fangupo and they fought with Taufaahau's warriors. He was speared by a man called Paul Tapu. He was taken into the fort and died of his wounds. And Taufaahau wished the war to cease because Fangupo was wounded, but no one came out of the fort. After the burial of the young chief, the warriors came out. The Tui Tonga told them to go out and leave the fort, and they did so. Each man went to his own relations, and the Tui Tonga came to the fort [Velata?] and had it levelled, and there was peace.

Sometime later Ulukalala arrived with all the Vavau vessels. It is not known whose side he would have joined had he arrived while the fort was still standing, but when he arrived the fort had been taken and nothing more was done. And Finau (Ulukalala) said for the Tui Tonga to go with him to Vavau. Taufaahau said that the Chief (Tui Tonga) was to please himself what he did. If he wished to go to Vavau it was all right, or if he wished to remain it was all right. He (the Tui Tonga) wished to go with Ulukalala and he went and a great number of people went with him. The man Maheuliuli who was always wanting war went with him. The people of Haapai remained. Since then Haapai has been deserted and Taufaahau the only ruler. [Laufilitonga may not yet have been appointed Tui Tonga, though so referred to.]

After all this had transpired Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) sent Lausii in the vessel called Vahaafonua (Between lands) with all the brave warriors to Kaufana at Eua with a present from him. The ruler of Eua received them kindly and they were there two or three nights. Then they went to Tonga. When they arrived there Nukualofa was being fortified. They went and helped with the digging of the fortifications. A report went forth that the Haapai warriors had come. After the fortifications were

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finished the vessel returned to Haapai and reported that the fort of Nukualofa had 173
been dug. Taufaahau told the men to go and beach the vessel at Haano and repair it. 669
It was then brought and they went to Vavau. The name of the vessel was the Tausala. 726
The vessel arrived at night and all Vavau assembled to receive it. Taufaahau told of the report that had come from Tonga concerning the digging of the fort. He also told them that he was going at once to Tonga. They stayed one night, then sailed (after the Sabbath). They anchored at Fakaamumei, Lifuka Island, landed there, and went to Pangai. Tutoe was told to go and have the Sabbath at Haano and return early on Monday and Taufaahau told Lausii and many of the warriors of Taufaahau to proceed in the vessel Vahaafonua to Haafeva and that he would follow in the Tausala. We anchored at Haafeva. From there he told us to sail to Tungua. There we took on board a man called Vaea and some others. Then we set sail and went to Tonga. That was New Year's Eve.

At dawn we were tacking between Pangaimotu and Fafa islands. It was difficult because there was a north wind. The vessel of the king turned and went before [502] the wind past the sunken reef near Maufanga. The people from the fort went down to the shore and beat drums and shouted abusive language. They shouted, "The surprise attack has been overtaken by the day." We arrived at Nukualofa and remained quiet as it was the Sabbath, although all Tonga had assembled at Maufanga during the Sabbath.

The army landed at Fongoloa when the tide was out. One was wounded but none killed. We cleared the outside of the fort and after that we went up to Takoto. When we returned it was dark. In the morning we went and brought the chief Fohe from Puke and then we rested a little. A message was brought that we were to go to the mount (*sia*) in Nukualofa; i.e., to Mt. Zion. There the army was told that they were to storm the fortress Ngeleia. And Taufaahau spoke and said to leave Ngeleia to him and his vessels or warriors. While Nukualofa's army went and looked from the *tavahi* tree to see if there was any army coming from Maufanga, Taufaahau's army went to Takoto and Taufaahau again spoke to the army there. He told them to raise their hands and swear that there would be no one allowed to escape from the fort (Ngeleia). They were told to go by the marshes and then to rush into the fort. It was a dangerous place that the army rushed into, marshy and overgrown with prickly grass and difficult to walk on. Notwithstanding this, they stormed the fort and all the people of the fort were killed. The brave warriors from Pea that were hostile to Nukualofa were killed. Kaufusitua who left Haapai because he was angry with Taufaahau was killed. Taufaahau's warriors took all the wealth (mats, tapa, etc.) and seized the spoil and returned to Nukualofa. [This massacre took place in 1837, at least eight years after Taufaahau had become a Methodist and two years after he had preached his first sermon.]

After a time we were told one day to go to the sand banks on the way to Hihifo, and to go openly. We were seen by the fort called Hule. They waited till they had heard from the other forts, so as to know all about the army that was outside the fort. A large vessel was anchored near the sand banks. It was a ship that Vuki had brought from Fiji. They were told to burn it with fire and the army went on to Teekiu. They went openly, not secretly. They went up from the sea and rushed on the fortress of Motuapuaka called Kolovai (in Teekiu). It looked as though the [people of the] fort had overslept themselves. There was no shouting or shooting or spearing. We bruised and took them alive. Only one man was killed and he because he was abusive to Taufaahau because he came so often from Haapai. Another was shot by Salo. The people were led captive through the sand banks and 173
the spoil was taken away. There was much wealth in the fort (tapa, mats, etc.). 727
The army was pleased with the spoil. But Taufaahau spoke and said, "You must 669
pardon, but you must collect the goods of Motuapuaka and his friends and bring them here, because they are poor. Bring the goods for them to have." No one took anything away. We came to Nukualofa and repaired the fort and dwelt there. We did not seek any more war.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

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But the armies of the heathen came down to Nukualofa and dwelt at Takoto and made war. The king's army did not at first know that there was an enemy's army near. A small band of warriors with Taufahema and his younger brothers went forth for a walk to the place that is called Malama, which was near where the heathen troops from Mua were stationed. They had destroyed the gardens. They met the small band of warriors with Taufahema. It was difficult perhaps for this brave warrior to return to the main army, so he stood and received them. The enemy pressed forward and Taufahema fell. It is said that his younger brother tried to shield him and he was shot and fell also. While the fight was going on, word was brought to Taufaahau at the fort. As quickly as possible the king and his warriors went to their assistance, but Taufaahau was not in time to catch the enemy. He chased them, but did not get many of them. Only a few were killed. Among the slain were Fiufiulelei and a few people. But the army of the enemy had fled. If Taufaahau's army had been able to catch the enemy that would have been the end of the army of the heathen. Taufaahau and his army returned lamenting that they were unable to find the enemy and said, "Lament the blessed [dead]. The enemy is not found."

The Tui Kanokupolu (Aleamotua, Josiah Tupou, or Tupou i Faletuipapai) sent word to the chiefs of the fort of Hule and told them that he loved them, but what were their wishes? Would they accept Christianity or would they not? But it was like ridicule and mockery for them. So they replied that they wanted to fight and this reply was told to the king. Then Tupou (the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah) sent word to Taufaahau that he was to please himself, as he had sent a message to the fort but that they only mocked him. Then Taufaahau sent word to his army to prepare and to assemble at the green called Tuniloa, where he spoke to them. Then Taufaahau said to Vaea Mataele (Tui Vakano), "You will go, Tui Vakano, to your friends and see them and speak to them, in case they love you and wish to live." Tui Vakano answered, "Oh, Taufaahau, don't be unkind to me and tell me to go to them that have deserted me. If they shoot me what will I do. Speak the word that hands are to be held up as a sign that none are to be allowed to escape (or live)." Taufaahau assented, and the troops had to hold up their hands and swear that none were to be allowed to escape or live. "Take good care that all strike to kill, but don't get killed. Destroy the fence or fortification and destroy anything and everything." The brave warrior Longani boasted, "The fort is dead." The army then went forth and stormed the fort and chased and killed the defenders as far as Matahau. The army did not take shelter but approached in the open to the fort, and the warrior who had made the declaration rushed into single combat with the chief Ikahui of the fort, and Ikahui was killed. The [people of the] fort shouted but it was their last shout in this world. The army returned in a line to Naitohotoho where the dead lay heaped up like old coconuts. One man from Haapai and one from Vavau were killed there. [The massacre of Hule took place in 1837.]

Word was brought to Taufaahau that J. Lausii was wounded. Then Taufaahau said to allow none to live, if he was dead. They were to go and fight Houma also. Then word was brought that Lausii was not badly wounded. That was the reason why the army returned to Nukualofa. When they arrived there the army of Moeakiola from Pea and Maufanga were nearby at Haakuma, shooting all the time into the fort of Nukualofa. And the people of Taufaahau's army chased them and they fled to the distance.

After that attack on the heathen they resumed their march to Nukualofa but when the forts of Houma, Pea, Mua, Folaha, and Maufanga heard that the fort of Hule was destroyed they said, "It looks as though nothing that we do will be successful." And they consulted with each other to desert or abandon all the small forts. The reason was that Maufanga was preparing to evacuate and all the different armies were assembled there. They fired and shouted, fired and shouted continually, and laughed a hoarse laugh. That night they all fled. That was to conceal their

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preparation for evacuating, till all were removed from the fort. There was a man 173
called Malafu in the old fort (Kolomotua) of Nukualofa. He was a very good night
scout. At midnight he crept to Maufanga to see why there was no longer any shouting. 669
He listened at the fortification fence. There was no one making the slightest 726
noise. Then he jumped over the fence into the enclosure. It was deserted and he climbed back again and walked quietly to the lagoon landing place and swam to Folaha. Here he listened but there was no sound of men. He entered the fort and the pigs stampeded. The people had fled. Then he swam back and reported at Nukualofa that the two forts of Maufanga and Folaha were deserted and that their goods were left. Then the army was told to prepare to go and lie in ambush near Pea.

One day the warriors from Haapai and Vavau were told to lie in ambush on the upper road near Tufumahina, while the Nukualofa army went by the marsh. The Pea and Mua warriors came out of the Pea fortress headed perhaps to Nukualofa and they were preceded by their scouts. If it had not been for that they would have proceeded further forward and none would have escaped. Taufaahau's men rushed forward and fought the Pea warriors and there were killed the brave men who were called by the names Taufaahau, Keiano, Fakatene, and a great many other people. The enemy was chased back to Pea. Moeakiola, the young chief of the fort of Pea, came and stood at the gate of the fort and told all the Pea troops to return and take shelter on the inside of the fortification fence. The shooting continued from Taufaahau's army outside the fence. A shot went through the gate of the fortification and a man was wounded by it and died.

Taufaahau's army returned to Nukualofa and remained quiet. There was no war for some time. Fatu [father of Tungi I] came from Mua and made peace with the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah. Taufaahau and his warriors returned to Haapai and Vavau, each to his own land, and the Tongan warriors remained in Tonga and there was peace for some time. The army at Nukualofa dispersed, each man going to his own district.

Ata's family went and dug a fort at Foui and they dwelt there. But there was 173
not peace between Ata and Vahai and their children on the one hand, and the people 669
that had become Christians and who dwelt at Foui on the other hand, because Ata's
people brought their heathenish preparation for their *inasi* feast through the Foui 798
road. The Christians said that it was not yams to eat, but things for their gods. 726
So Vahai was very angry and killed Ahomee. So the fort of Ahomee took up arms and many were killed in that fight of the big fort of the heathens and the little fort of the Christians.

A message was again sent to Taufaahau at Haapai, that Tonga was at war 173
again. They were told that he was at Vavau, so they went to Vavau. Taufaahau 669
came with the vessel of Paul Halaevalu that had come from Tonga, and the two 726
vessels sailed for Haapai. On reaching Haapai he told Jioeli and Jiosai and all Lifuka to launch his great war vessel and to follow in her, while he went ahead in the vessel that had come from Tonga.

The great warship was soon in the sea and about two hundred soldiers went on [501]
board. They sailed at once. But when they were nearing Nomuka they were not
able to bale out the water from the hulls fast enough, so they returned to Haafeva. [716]
When they reached there, there was a small sailing vessel belonging to Haafeva, the property of Havealeta. They arranged with the two men that a few should go in the small vessel to the war lest the big vessel might not be able to go. So Kavaefiafi and Kulitapa went in it to Tonga.

It was very stormy and rough at sea, and when they were near Tonumea the sail was torn and it was let down, while a small sail was put up. The big one was mended and they sailed with it to Tonga. They nearly failed to reach Haatafu because it was getting dark when they left Atata behind, but after a while they passed the small reef and on nearing shore they found that they were at the sand banks of Toketeke, so they tacked and headed back to Atata. When they had

[1812 - 1845]

landed the wind blew like a hurricane and in the morning they looked out and saw a 173
vessel anchored at Tufaka. They poled their vessel there, as they thought that it 669
was the Tui Haapai's ship. But it was only Paul Halaevalu's vessel. Then they 726
poled the two vessels from Muifonua (Land's-end) to Nukualofa. By now it had become calm.

Unexpectedly Veikune and Taufavaivai arrived from Vavau in the vessel called Tunulousi, so the vessels from Haapai and Vavau all came in one after the other. The army was prepared for the Hihifo campaign. They went and beseiged the fort of Hihifo and the people in the fort remained inside, while the armies remained separate. Some scouts from the Vavau army went out. One Haapai man called Soko, the son of Tahifisi, went with them. There were some people that came out of the fort. Among them was a very big man whom Soko killed. We heard them calling "Fight," as the place where we were was not very far away. We said, "It is with the Lord," as Taufaahau's army were Christians. There was a fight and a brave warrior called Tavalu rushed and beat upon the gate of the fort and the army surrounded it. Meanwhile the enemy remained inside. No one seemed to wish to come outside. Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) told the warriors not to wait till they saw a man before firing, but when a hand was seen to fire, or a foot was seen to fire,
or any other part of the body was seen to fire. Fire at anything seen above the [725]
mud fortifications. This was how the fort was treated. They came to make peace from Foui, and when they arrived the inmates of the fort did not fire, but stood round the fortification fence and talked of their strength. In the evening Tui Haapai told the warriors to go and surround the fort. Lest some should escape, he divided his forces, so that there was a watch till daylignt and he told them should there be any deserters not to kill them. This was a very good idea. If it had not been for this the people of the fort would have escaped during the night. Any person coming singly they tied alive. There came out of Ata's fort a man and woman to flee, but when they got outside they saw that the fort was surrounded and so they returned into the fort. Only Vahai and a very few escaped. They came and looked about for any place where there was no sentry, then they fled at that point and went to Houma.
At daybreak the army entered the fort but no one was killed. Ata and Papa and all 173
the people of the fort were taken alive. Tui Haapai commanded that none should be 669
killed. Ata and Papa's goods were not taken and only a very few things were lost. 726
There has never been a chief in Tonga from the olden times that had war like that, in 727
which he saved the lives of the conquered and gave them back their goods. Their lives were saved and their goods returned. In former times should the enemy live their goods were confiscated by the victor. (The people of Haapai and Vavau were Christians and now they had taken from the heathen their bread.) Some youths stole, but it was not the wish of Taufaahau. Each went with his friend by the command of Ata and Papa to Nukualofa and that ended that war. As Mua was not in it or Houma, but only Hihifo, it was the war of Ata and Vahai.

Then the chiefs of Haapai and Vavau were told to return, but Tui Haapai and 173
a few remained at Tonga, lest there be another disturbance of the peace like the 669
war of Hihifo. Houma collected Hihifo's fishing canoes at the weather shore. It
was not known who smashed them, but they thought that it was Houma that did it. 726

The Hihifo people waited and planned a war on Houma. Taufahema, that brave warrior who was said to have died at Malama of the wounds that he had received on his face, still lived, and it was he that came and fought for Hihifo at Foui. He came in contact with the army of Houma and was shot as though it was a planned assassination. Then the Hihifo army was chased and Peter Ahomee was caught and taken alive to Houma with some others. That war did not last long, as Taufaahau did not like having war stirred up like that. It was done while Taufaahau was away at Vavau and the report that was brought to him was that the Tui Kano-
kupolu Josiah Tupou was dying. He sailed back, calling at Haapai. When he 173
arrived at Tonga, the king was dead, having died on November 18, 1845. After 643
the funeral the chiefs of Tonga waited for the coming of Taufaahau to appoint

[1845 - 1865]

him Tui Kanokupolu. The ceremony of the appointment was held at the Pangai 173
green at Kolovai on December 4, 1845. There is a saying, in reference to the 643
appointment ceremony, "His back has rested on the koka tree." Taufaahau, now
Tui Kanokupolu George Tupou I, dwelt at Nukualofa thereafter.

The following boat song (*tauaalo*) of Taufaahau's makes obvious the important part he played in Tongan affairs before he became Tui Kanokupolu.

Haapai 'e tefua ki Fanganono	Haapai assemble at Fanganono	[533]
Kau alu ki Tonga 'o fakatonu	While I go to Tonga to put to rights	[539]
Liu mai ke ta motulotu	Return and cut in two	

TAUFAAHAU'S GUNS[A]

Laufilitonga, who became the last Tui Tonga, lived at the fortress of 173
Velata in Lifuka, Haapai. Taufaahau lived at the same time in Pangai, 669
on the same island. Velata was a double-walled, double-ditched fortress. 726
A protracted struggle ensued between these rivals for power, ending in [712]
victory for Taufaahau. Taufaahau is said to have been the aggressor.
Many people were killed in the struggle, but captives were spared. With [727]
Laufilitonga was the important chief Tui Haa Teiho.

Whilst the war was being fought at Velata, Taufaahau went in a small vessel (*foalolo* or *tofaanga*) to Eua, to the chief Kaufana, to get some guns. He got the guns, left that small vessel in Eua, and proceeded in a vessel called the Tuingatu-ki-tonga. He arrived at Laulea, at the weather shore of Fatumu, Tongatabu. He went up to the place of a chief called Kanongataa to interview him, and when he arrived the place was deserted; the chief was away at Fuaamotu, preparing his warriors to receive Taufaahau. And Taufaahau went there to him with his men and they met and Kanongataa and the chiefs wanted to detain him for the night, while some food was prepared for them, but Taufaahau thanked them and said that he must go, as the mission was dangerous.

After they had left Fuaamotu, Taufaahau said to his men: "If there is a man amongst you, escape." Taufaahau was the first to reach Lotuma. He waited there till his men came. They went from there to Vaini to visit Maafu who was blind. Maafu asked them where they had been. Taufaahau replied that they had been to see Kaufana to seek guns. Maafu said, "Draw near so that I can touch you," and he wished that he could see him. In that year was born at Eua a grandson of Maafu, and he was called Amusia-ae-a (I envy those that see). (He was still alive in 1918.)

And Taufaahau went from Vaini to Nukuhetulu and he tried to get a vessel to bring them to Nukualofa. He entered a house in which a man was sleeping and awoke him. The man asked, "Who are you?" He answered, "It is I, Taufaahau," and the man fainted with terror. Then he shook the man till he revived. And he said to him, "Don't be afraid," and he asked him, "Do you know of a vessel." The man answered, "I know of a vessel that is anchored at Houmaniu (the shore of Nukuhetulu). Taufaahau said, "Cut the rope and come and take us." He told him to go straight to Pahau and they reached there. They went to the place of the king Aleamotua.

The sun had just risen and the king asked where had they been. Taufaahau answered, "We have been to Eua to seek some guns." Just then a small double vessel arrived from Haapai and they went on board and sailed for Haapai and finished the war at Velata with the Tui Tonga.

[A] /Taufaahau later became King George I Tupou--Analyst/

[1829-1865]

When the fight at Velata was resumed, Taufaahau's warriors were having breakfast, as Laufilitonga's men made a sortie. Taufaahau's men quit eating. Taufaahau called for his gun. Malupo brought it and asked permission to use it. It was granted. Malupo shot Laufilitonga's son. When he fell, the Tui Tonga's men fled, but they asked where they got the gun and gunpowder. Taufaahau's men replied from the *mato* (edge of precipice), referring to Eua. A well on Lifuka is named Onemato to commemorate this reply. 173 669 726

A tract at south edge of Pangai is called Matuku, meaning "the fight is over," in commemoration of the surrender of Velata to Taufaahau. Velata was a double-walled and double-ditched fortress. [712]

Fakailoatonga was the name of the chief who treacherously speared Taufaahau in the calf during the siege of Velata. Taufaahau was not yet king when this happened. Taufaahau withdrew the spear and killed Fakailoatonga with it. Fakailoatonga was said to be his father's brother. There seems to have been a scouting expedition in which Taufaahau was accosted in a friendly manner by Fakailoatonga of the enemy's camp and then treacherously speared.

At the conclusion of the war Taufaahau put the Tui Tonga and his chiefs in a boat and told them to go and not land again in Tonga, but Kaunanga, the mother of Tungi I, took them ashore at Lapaha.

TAUFAAHAU AND ULUKALALA VERSUS THE HEATHENS OF VAVAU

In 1829 Taufaahau and Peter Vi, an early convert to Christianity, introduced the Methodist church into Haapai. In 1831 Ulukalala IV (Finau Tuapasi), the great chief of Vavau, embraced Christianity, becoming a convert of the Methodist missionaries at the urging of Taufaahau, the Tui Haapai. Taufaahau had sailed to Vavau with a fleet of 24 large double vessels and peaceably induced Ulukalala to embrace Christianity. Now follows Peter Vi's (3) narrative of events at Vavau, of which he was an eye witness. The siege of the fortress of Otea took place in 1832 and lasted but three days. 797 [716] [501] 173 797 798 669 726

I went to Koloa, Vavau, [in 1831,] and we prepared to sail in the vessel to Haapai. We were only two nights there, when Taufaahau sailed again to Vavau to bring Halaevalu Mataaho. Then Taufaahau arranged with Finau [Ulukalala] for us to have service together on the Sabbath. Taufaahau went and took the kava of the god Taufaitahi to Afu, whose god he was, and they teased him, then burnt the god. Then we went and had our service with Finau. Vavau was in commotion and divided into two parties. Lua dwelt at Feletoa and Ulukalala dwelt at Neiafu and the people were divided between the two. Whoever were Christians went to Ulukalala, whoever were heathens went to Lua, each preparing for war. Taufaahau returned to Haapai, Vavau having accepted Christianity. Finau expected that I would be left with him. But Mr. Thomas [a Methodist missionary] would not let me remain, and after some time Jeremiah Kamoto was sent from Tonga to Vavau, and Taufaahau sailed again for Tonga.

When Tongatabu knew that the Vavauans had accepted Christianity and burnt their gods' houses it prepared for war and Taufaahau's vessel, which was at Tongatabu, prepared to fight. That war did not materialize and Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) returned. A message had been sent from Finau [Ulukalala], saying for Taufaahau to make haste and come to Vavau, as there would be war soon. And we sailed and anchored at Taunga Island, Vavau group, in 1832.

Lua had dug fortifications at Otea on the island of Kapa. Two vessels came, all the crews of which were naked (sign of war) and they asked, "Whose vessels are these?" [291]

[1832]

"Taufaahau from Haapai," was the reply. Then they twirled their clubs and 173
said, 797

"Oh, we thought they were the ships from Fiji." 798

And we sailed on into the anchorage at Neiafutahi, Vavau, and anchored there where 669
Finau was. And we sent to make peace with the Otea fort. Moheofo and Tui Haapai 726
were the peacemakers, and the people (of Otea) destroyed their vessel. The chiefs Luani, Siaakafoa, and Taukeilaolao were sent with them to Neiafu. Taufaahau told Finau not to let these chiefs return, but to hold them. This was done. Taukeilaolao and Teu were brought to us to guard, while the others were taken to Finau to guard. And early next morning we all assembled at Ngaunoho and the army was addressed by Taufaahau. Taufaahau and I jumped on shore while the troops all prepared, stayed in the boats. Taufaahau went and spoke to the army in the presence of Finau, while the Vavau (army) was present. After he had spoken to the army then I said, "Let us pray." After that we went on board the vessel and sailed for Otea. And when we drew near we saw a party of warriors lying in wait on the main road. We raised our guns, but did not fire. We sailed along the shore to their fort. Our vessels anchored and we disembarked our troops. Finau told Taufaahau to go to the fort and ask Lua what were his wishes. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] went and took shelter behind a big tree called *fotulona* and spoke from there and said, "Finau has sent us to tell you, for you to have love and not to be wrongly advised by your sons," and Lua answered,

"Man, why are you so unkind to me? Why don't you come and take me, your father (term of affection), to Haapai?"

And Taufaahau replied, "When did you tell me to? I came and anchored at that island; why did you not send a message for me to come, and take you to Haapai and I would have done so?"

Then Lua answered, "Come here, you unkind man."

Taufaahau replied, "I would like to come, but you might not be able to protect me from your sons, so I will speak to you from here." And we kept on carrying messages between Finau and Lua till it was dark, then we slept; and early in the morning word was brought that fighting had begun on land, as the people from the fort were pushing on the advance lines of the Haapai warriors. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] ran at once there. When we reached there, he said, "If there is any one that wishes to fire, then fire." After that he said, "You go into the fort till Ulukalala and Lua have arranged matters for their friends, and if it cannot be arranged then you young men of the fort come out to us young men and we will fight it out."

Just then a man from Ngutu shouted out, "Yes! Taufaahau kindly tell the Lofanga, the Haafeva, the Kotu, and other warriors to go."

And Taufaahau said, "You say for us to let go, as though this was the first time we had come to Haafuluhao (Vavau). Have we not been here since former times, and taken possession."

Then we went down to Finau and he commanded that we should raise barricades [725]
to starve out the fortress. And we cut down all kinds of trees with which to make the barricade. And we watched each other (the people of the fort and Taufaahau's warriors), and some of the Haapai warriors went scouting and caught Langikaihaa and two warriors. They were not killed, but tied and brought alive, and Taufaahau tried hard to make peace. One day he told us to remain within the fortification, for none to go outside, while he went to a place far away. They were going to call Tavake and Maheuliuli [of the enemy] to come for us to see them; and when they came out we were to come away, as if we thought there would be no war. If they came it was to be done [Tavake and Maheuliuli treacherously seized]. They came and they were told to come with me to our fortification and leave their fort. And when it was known at our fort, and their fort, that they had come, our army rushed into their fort, and pulled down the fort. Taufaahau brought Lua and the chiefs to his own house.

[1834]

TAUFAAHAU'S WAR CHIEF, HAVILI OF NOMUKA [8]

Havili was a chief and the greatest fighting man in Nomuka. Havili was a 173
heathen first, later a Christian. He was Taufaahau's "general." When Methodism 797
was first brought to the country it was pretty hard for Taufaahau to get the people 798
to be Christians. Havili was called to Tongatabu to aid Taufaahau in suppressing
the heathens. Taufaahau fought the Mua people first and won. Later he fought 669
Nukualofa and won. Then the Mua and Nukualofa people helped Taufaahau to 726
fight against Hihifo. Hihifo was too strong for them, so he (Taufaahau) sent for Havili to come and help him and then they won. After the war Havili returned to Nomuka. Taufaahau had come to Nomuka originally to get Havili and to assemble fighting men from Haapai. The fighting men collected on Taufaahau's ship and were brought to Nomuka where Taufaahau, Havili, and Maafu were waiting. Taifonoifua of Fonoifua was not a chief, but a great fighting man. Falase of Nomuka, was not a chief, but a great fighting man. These two were not matapule, but commoners (*matatangata*). Siulua of Lofanga, was a fighting man, but not a chief or matapule. These were all *matatangata*, men with great strength. The vessel went from Lofanga to Koulo in Lifuka and got Tava'u, another great fighting man who was neither chief nor matapule. These men were to be the *eiki tau* (commanders) of Taufaahau's army and were to command troops. Then the vessel left for Vavau to bring Tuimalohi, a commoner, and Pupunu, a matapule. From each place came one big vessel with the fighting men of the place led by one of the *eiki tau*. They sailed for Nomuka. In six days they all arrived in Nomuka and Taufaahau gave orders to leave next day for Tonga and assemble at Atata Island.

When all arrived there kava was brewed and served. The first bowl was Tau- 276
faahau's, but he did not drink it. He merely took hold of it and called out, "Who 574
is the strongest man here, the man who says he will reach the Hihifo fortress of 726
Kolovai first? Let him come forward and take my kava." 173

Then Havili stood up and said, "Give it to me. I'll drink it. I'll be the first 669
man to reach there." As soon as they finished the kava, they sailed straight to Hihifo in spite of the shallowness of the water, went as far as possible, dropped anchor, and the troops (*tangatatau*) marched from there over the tidal flats to the beach.

Vahai was the commander of Hihifo. He ordered his troops to keep a good 173
lookout on the beach, as the Haapai fighters would be sure to land there. The Haapai 797
and Vavau troops rushed in first. The Nomuka troops tarried behind. The Haapai 798
troops did not like the way Taufaahau was depending on Havili and Taifonoifua. 669
The Haapai and Vavau troops were driven back and many killed. Taufaahau was 726
frightened at seeing his troops driven back, so he turned and yelled out for Havili, saying, "Why don't you assist the troops instead of mending sails?" Then Havili stood up, grabbed hold of a big stick called *okooka* and broke it in half, kept one half himself and gave the other half to Taifonoifua. They rushed at two of the enemy and Taifonoifua killed one, while Havili grabbed the other and carried him back to the vessel where Taufaahau was resting. He threw him inside the vessel. Taufaahau was frightened and sat up, saying, "What's the matter there?"

Havili said, "Have you already forgotten the kava that I drank on Atata?" Havili turned away, lifted his tapa garment and rushed at the enemy again. This time he rushed against nine men at a pond near the beach. They hid, but he killed the nine of them. Afterwards he named the pond Hiva (nine). Then Havili went
on further until he came right into the midst of the Hihifo soldiers. When he got [411]
there they all dropped their arms (*tafetei*, a spear; *kolo*, club; *mata*, knife of ironwood). The Hihifo troops were made to kneel down.

After six days the Haapai and Vavau troops returned home. When Havili and

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[8] Related by Albert Taufa of Nomuka.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1834]

Taufaahau arrived in Nomuka a vessel from Lifuka was there with a message for 173
Taufaahau and Havili to prepare, for Lifuka was ready to fight Taufaahau. 797

Taufaahau then asked Havili and Taifonoifua to get ready and go with him to 798
Lifuka. "When you're ready, we'll start," he said. While Taufaahau had been fight- 669
ing in Tonga, the Lifuka people had been digging trenches, preparing for his return.
Velata was the place where the trenches were dug. Taufaahau and his troops sailed 726
north from Nomuka. Three vessels went with troops. Taufaahau, Havili, and Taifonoifua with troops were in one vessel.

Troops only were in the other vessels. When Lifuka was sighted Havili sang out, "Sail the boats right up to the beach." Taufaahau was down below. Havili stood at the bow and yelled out to Taufaahau, asking for orders. Taufaahau was very quiet. Then Havili yelled again, "My wish is not to let any cockroach live, to kill them all." Shortly the vessel went right up on the beach. Havili jumped on to the beach, while Taufaahau was standing in the middle of the vessel looking towards Josiah Lausii's place, the chief of Haapai, his father's brother (*tamai*). He saw many people sitting down with heads bowed. They were asking Lausii to forgive them for what they had prepared. Then Taufaahau saw Lausii walking towards the ship. He came down and shook hands [*sic*]. Lausii told Taufaahau what the trouble was with the people bending over at his place. Lausii also asked Taufaahau to forgive him. Taufaahau told Lausii that Havili and Taifonoifua were determined to kill all the "cockroaches." Taufaahau said, "All right, I'll forgive them, but not again." Then Taufaahau told the Lifuka people that the fortress of Velata was to belong to the Nomuka people.

Shortly after they went to Vavau to accompany the Vavau men home. When they returned to Nomuka they found there had been some fighters from Mua, Tonga, who had slaughtered the people, women and children, and left the same day.

Havili was very much hurt when he discovered what had happened. He said to
Taufaahau, "I'm going to Tonga to pay them back for what they have done. I
won't go just now. I'll wait until the wind goes around to the south, so they won't
be looking for me." When the wind swung to the south he started off. He arrived
at night with Taifonoifua. They went ashore with troops. The people of Lapaha
in Mua did not expect him. They were having a game of *lafo* (played with coconut [524]
shells). In the middle of the house was a woman making kava. Havili and Taifonoifua were pleased to have arrived there in time to slaughter them. Havili had connection with that woman. Havili and Taifonoifua had told their men to stop outside. The two went in quietly and sat down amongst the men. No notice was taken of them for they thought that they were Lapaha men. The woman making kava turned around and looked at Havili. As soon as she saw his face she yelled, "We are going to be slaughtered. Havili and Taifonoifua are here." The people received a shock and looked around, but it was too late. As soon as Havili realized he was known, he and Taifonoifua were punching them down with their fists as fast as they could. There were thirty men and one woman. They killed all but one man who was wounded. Those who went out were killed by the troops. The woman was spared. Soon after, that same night, Havili and Taifonoifua sailed for Nomuka with a fair wind. They arrived safely.

Two days later they left again for Tonga to attack the Mua people again. When
they sighted Tonga it was getting dark. It was about eight o'clock when they approached the land sufficiently to see lights. They could see several lights on the
eastern end of Velitoa. Four men and four women were fishing. They were Mua [226]
people torch-fishing. The Nomuka vessel anchored outside the reef. Havili said to Taifonoifua, "You stay aboard, while I go to learn who these people are." He landed on the beach and walked up to see who they were. He went quietly and hid beside a tree. The party were cooking fish now.

While they were cooking fish one of the men said, "Hurry, get those fish cooked or else Havili might come and take them from us." At the same time Havili was

The following anecdote is told:

> Kavaanuku was the name of the Foa Island chief who had soldiers for war. 173
> The soldiers from Tonga came to Foa and fought with Kavaanuku's soldiers. They
> fought and Kavaanuku's soldiers ran to Manakoto's place. They were whipped and 778
> feared the Tongan soldiers. The soldiers from Tonga tied with rope a man and 782
> took him to Manakoto and Kavaanuku, before whom they strangled him. Then Kavaanuku, 726
> likewise strangled a man as an offering to the goddess. Thereupon the soldiers from Tonga strangled two Tongan men and took them to Manakoto, because they wanted Hikuleo's permission to enter her sanctuary and to destroy Kavaanuku's soldiers. Permission was gained when the Tongans sacrificed the two men to the goddess. The sacrificed men were left on the ground to rot outside of the goddess' house. Then the Tongan soldiers attacked and killed all of Kavaanuku's men. That was the first time anyone had attacked the sanctuary of Fanakava. This happened in the time of the great great grandfather of the present Tui Haa Ngana.

Another account of Hikuleo follows:

> Hikuleo had also a shrine in the island of Uiha, Haapai. Her tract of land was 778
> called Taoa, and her house was built thereon. She was appealed to through the 776
> medium of the usual finger sacrifice when there was sickness. People who intended
> to voyage must inform Hikuleo first, otherwise they would encounter bad winds. [782]
> People beseeching the aid of the goddess seated themselves outside of the house in [484]
> which she was believed to be. A man looked after the feeding of the goddess, giving
> her the food which the people brought. All of the people in Uiha worshipped Hikuleo;
> other deities were also worshipped. Hikuleo was the patron goddess of the chief [622]
> Malupo of Uiha. In connection with her worship in Uiha one tapu required everyone 776
> to be quiet for a time at noon, forbidding the beating of tapa or making of any 784
> noise; another tapu forbade orange juggling at night, under penalty of losing one's eyesight; and another forbade old women to make mats, because they [old women?] smelt badly to the goddess.

FEHULUNI

Fehuluni is a widely known Tongan deity who even in Christian times 776
appears as an apparition. The origin of this deity has been related (26, pp. 153-155). My hitherto unpublished information concerning Fehuluni pertains to the Haapai and Vavau groups.

Fehuluni apparently appears always in human form—to a man appearing
in feminine form; to a woman, in masculine form. The person whose [763]
affection is won by Fehuluni is said to die, often wasting away, and people are said to become unconscious on first seeing her. One informant characterized Fehuluni as a *tupui tevolo,* that is an original god rather than an *ata* (shadow). The island of Nomuka, Haapai, is the particular haunt of the deity, where she had a temple, like an ordinary Tongan house, located on the tract Tuanuku. Three people officiated as priests, a man named Samuel 776
Masivahemolo and his sisters Latu and Fatai, all of whom were inspired at 793
times by Fehuluni becoming incarnate in one of them, the manifestation of 787
the incarnation being trembling. On the occasion of such a divine visitation
the inspired servant of the god remained within the temple. The people who 782
prayed to Fehuluni sometimes entered her house, sometimes remained outside. 778

the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were [688]
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the
god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form,
although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting [171]
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering [276]
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, [726]
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called [526]
mesini, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the
protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original
gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa*
refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778
grandiloquently as *lotoalahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts
upon which they stood. For example, Falemanaia applied to a god-house
at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the Falemanaia stood is now
marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are
mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua,
the shrine of the god Finautauiku, was also the caretaker of the cemetery
Loamanu, wherein the Tui Haa Takalaua were buried, and where small
carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was suggested by the priest Kautae that they were purely decorative, which would
bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them
(66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was wor- 776
shipped by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 613
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her [593]
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, [825]
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of
the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but
to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-

shore, the carpenter and sail-maker spoke to 114
Mr. Brown on the propriety of having the muskets up, and placing centinels on deck to keep the natives off, as their number prevented them from working; but, unfortunately, too self-willed and obstinate in error, he treated every wholesome admonition with indifference, and accordingly no such measures were taken.

The following fatal day, Monday, the 1st 121
December, 1806, at eight o'clock in the morn- 114
ing, the natives began to assemble on board, and soon increased to 300 in different parts of the ship. About nine o'clock Tooi Tooi, the Sandwich islander, before mentioned as having endeavoured to inspire the ship's company with a good opinion of the friendly disposition of the natives, came on board, and invited Mr. Brown to go on shore and view the country: he imme-
diately complied, and went unarmed. About 126
half an hour after he had left the ship, Mr. Ma-
riner, who was in the steerage, went to the hatch 114
for the sake of the light, as he was about to mend a pen; looking up, he saw Mr. Dixon standing on a gun, endeavouring, by his signs, to prevent more of the natives coming on board: at this moment he heard a loud shout from the Indians, and saw one of them knock Mr. Dixon down with a club: seeing now too clearly what was the matter, he turned about to run towards the

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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gun-room, when an Indian caught hold of him by the hand: he luckily escaped from his grasp, ran down the scuttle, and reached the gun-room, where he found the cooper: but considering the magazine the safest place, they ran immediately there; and having consulted what was best to be done, they came to the resolution of blowing up the vessel, and, like Samson of old, to sacrifice themselves and their enemies together. Bent upon this bold and heroic enterprise*, Mr. Mariner repaired to the gun-room to procure flint and steel, but was not able to get at the muskets without making too much noise, for the arm-chest lay beneath the boarding-pikes, which had carelessly been thrown down the scuttle the preceding evening: the noise occasioned by clearing them away, as the uproar above began to cease, would undoubtedly have attracted the notice of the Indians; he therefore returned to the magazine, where he found the cooper in great distress from the apprehension of his impending fate. Mr. Mariner next proposed that they should go at once upon deck, and be killed quickly, while their enemies were still hot with slaughter, rather than by greater delay subject 126 themselves to the cruelties of cooler barbarity. 114 After some hesitation, the cooper consented to follow if Mr. Mariner would lead the way. The latter thereupon went up into the gun-room, and lifting up the hatch a little, saw Tooi Tooi and Vaca-ta-Bol̄a examining Captain Duck's sword and other arms that were in his bed-place. Their backs being turned, he lifted off 127 the hatch entirely, and jumped up into the cabin: Tooi Tooi instantly turning round, Mr. Mariner presented his hands open, to signify that he was unarmed and at their mercy: he then uttered *aroghah!* (a word of friendly salutation among the Sandwich islanders) and asked him partly in English, and partly in his own language, if he meant to kill him, as he was ready to meet his fate. Tooi Tooi replied in broken English, that he should not be hurt, as the chiefs were already in possession of the ship, but that he wished to be informed how many persons there were below, to which Mr. Mariner answered, that there was only one, and then called up the cooper, who had not followed him the whole way. Tooi Tooi led them upon deck towards one of the chiefs who had the direction of the conspiracy. The first object that struck Mr. Mariner's sight, on coming upon deck, was enough to thrill the stoutest heart: there sat upon the companion a

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* Lest this should be thought a rash and presumptuous conduct, as sacrificing their own lives unnecessarily, it should be considered that it would be almost a certain preventive of such conspiracies for the future, when those on shore would witness the sudden and awful fate so unexpectedly attending the perpetrators.

arms, merely to distinguish them from other 175
men, and for the vanity of rendering himself 669
singular by this extraordinary exercise of his 643
authority. This and many other acts of cruelty [644]
laid the groundwork for an insurrection, and a [304]
complete revolution in the affairs of Tonga.

Toobó Nuha, a great chief, and brother of 175
Finow, conceived himself to be exceedingly op- 669
pressed by the tyranny of Toogoo Ahoo; till at 643
length he determined to be free, or to die in 634
the attempt. With this view he often conversed
with Finow, (at that time tributary chief of the
Hapai islands,) sounding his opinion, and spur-
ring him on to the same resolution; with the
declaration, that if he would not assist him, he
would manage the whole conspiracy himself.
Led on partly by these persuasions, but princi-
pally by his own private views, Finow entered
into a league with Toobó Nuha. One evening 175
these two, attended by several of their usual 669
followers, waited on Toogoo Ahoo, as was now 643
and then customary, to pay their respects to 634
him, by presents of cava root, *gnatoo*[*], a pig, 726
and several baskets of yams; they then retired. [723]
This served as a plausible reason for their being [431]
that night in the neighbourhood of the king's
residence. About midnight they again repaired

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[*] The material of their wearing apparel.

175 to his house with their followers, whom they
669 placed around it as watchful guards, ready to
643 dispatch all who might attempt to escape from
726 the place: of these Finow took the command,
634 whilst Toobó Nuha entered, armed with his axe,
[644] and burning with desire of revenge. As he
passed along, on either hand lay the wives and
[302] favourite mistresses of the king, the matchless
[301] beauties of Tonga, perfumed with the aroma of sandal wood, and their necks strung with wreaths of the freshest flowers: the sanguinary chief could have wept over their fate, but the freedom of his country was at stake, and the opportunity was not to be lost*. He sought the mat of his destined victim, where he lay buried in the profoundest sleep: he stood over him for a short moment, but willing that he should know from whom he received his death, he struck him with his hand upon the face: Toogoo Ahoo started up, — "'Tis I, Toobó Nuha, that strike," and a tremendous blow felled him, never to rise again. Horror and confusion immediately took place: Toobó

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* Such were the sentiments which he afterwards expressed
[727] to Mr. Mariner. The sacrifice of these women, however barbarous, was strictly according to the general Tonga custom in such cases; where not only the individual enemy is destroyed, but also all who belong to him, even his women, that his party may be weakened and distressed as much as possible.

Nuha snatched up the late king's adopted son, 726 175
(a child of three years old,) whom he was desir-
ous of saving, and rushed out of the house as the 669
guards of Finow rushed in, when speedy death 634
silenced the screams of those who a little before [643]
lay reposed in the arms of sleep.

The two chiefs and their followers betook
themselves, as quickly as possible, to Hahagi,
the northern part of the island. Early in the [202]
morning confusion and dismay reigned in the
island of Tonga—men and women ran they knew not whither, unknowing whether to join this party or that—old men were seen making speeches to the people, encouraging them to avenge the death of their chief:—the numerous relations and friends of the deceased king ran about beating their breasts and weeping:—shells were heard blowing in every quarter, as the signals of war and disturbance,—here to assemble the friends of the late How*,—there to summon together the partisans of liberty.

Finow and Toobó Nuha, in the course of a few hours, assembled together a considerable number of adherents, with whom, after having launched their canoes in case their retreat from the island should be necessary, they proceeded to Hihifo (the place where the How was killed). When they arrived here, their first concern was

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* King.

175 to destroy the enemy's canoes; and they succeeded
669 in doing it, after some opposition. They
next directed their march to the place where
726 the loyalists were assembled, about three quarters
634 of a mile distant from Hihifo, and a general
battle took place, which lasted till night, with great slaughter on both sides: Finow's party, however, was at length repulsed, and forced to fly back to Hahagi, where it remained till the evening of the ensuing day, when an event happened which reinforced its strength, and gave the allied chiefs and their followers fresh spirits for the combat; this was the arrival of the two canoes with Tooi Hala Fatai and his bold adventurers from the Fiji islands. This chief and his warlike companions, ever ready to enter into a new contest, immediately joined Finow, and swore allegiance to his cause. The very evening of their landing, however, their leader, Tooi Hala Fatai, felt himself much indisposed; and as his disorder hourly increased, he was seized with the apprehension that his complaint was mortal. With this idea strongly impressed upon his mind, he proposed that they should sally forth as early as possible the ensuing morning, to meet the enemy while he had any strength remaining, that by this means he might escape the bed of sickness and die gloriously in the field of battle. Scarcely had the sun risen, when

the three chiefs and their brave warriors were 175
already on their march towards Hihifo. * Their 669
equally brave and determined opponents met 726
them about half-way. Both paused as if in- 634
stinctively at the same moment. They summoned up their spirits to endure a mighty and bloody conflict: liberty on the one side, loyalty on the other, fired them with the desire of performing matchless achievements. The active and [703]
impetuous mind of Tooi Hala Fatai could brook no delay: anxious to set the glorious example of an heroic spirit, he and his Fiji warriors began the battle by rushing forward on a party of the enemy. Immediately the contest became general, with such unconquerable determination on both sides, that the plains of Tonga had perhaps

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* The following description of the battle is expressed in a [128]
style of language that may be thought not very consistent with the sobriety of historical narration: but I have ventured to do this, because the natives always describe this battle in the strongest terms, as the first and one of the most bloody that ever was fought. On one side were the late king's nearest relations bravely fighting, each in the secret hope of obtaining a kingdom; on the other side were three chiefs of unconquerable spirit, one fighting for dominion, another for his reputation as a patriot, and the third, with a fierce and warlike mind, for the honour and glory of a name, setting his life at no consideration whatsoever. The circumstances of this battle, as here described, are strictly as related by the natives. The language in which it is expressed, is, according to Mr. Mariner's judgment, suitable with the poetic descriptions which he heard of it. From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society" it appears that this battle was fought on the 29th of May, 1799.

175 never before witnessed so tremendous a shock.
669 The brave Toobó Nuha, inspired by the greatness of his cause, with a resistless arm performed
726 prodigies of valour: when he stood, he stood
634 like a rock*—when he rushed, it was with the impetuosity of a hurricane: he raised his ponderous club only to give death his victim; and as he moved forward he strode over the bodies of fallen chiefs. In another part of the battle, Tooi Hala Fatai was seen moving onward in the path of victory; though he felt his strength gradually decreasing, yet the terror of his fiery eye paralysed the arms of his enemies; at length, fearful lest too speedy a conquest might deprive him of the opportunity of dying a warrior's death, he rushed with an exulting spirit into the thickest of the battle, and fell, pierced with spears, beneath the clubs of his adversaries. In the mean while, Finow was not an idle looker on: he fought with equal courage, but with a more steady and less presumptuous bravery; the greatest of his enemies fell beneath the weight of his club; and as his eye sated itself with the number of his opponents whom death had stretched upon the reeking plain, his ambitious mind, confident in victory, seemed already

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[192] * This is a phrase in use among them to express the firmness of a warrior in battle; *coe macca tofoo-be eune too*, a rock altogether (was) his standing.

to enjoy the sweets and power of monarchy. 175
The battle raged for about three hours, when, 669
by the extraordinary exertions and achievements 726
principally of Toobó Nuha, who, as fame 634
reports, slew on that day forty with his own
hand,—the enemy became panic-struck, and fled
in all directions, conquered by that arm, which,
two days before, in giving Toogoo Ahoo his
death, had delivered the country from a tyrant. 634

Although the victory was so decisively in favour 175
of Finow, it cost him the lives of many of 669
his bravest men, and so far lessened his numerical 727
strength, as to render it prudent not to pursue
the enemy. After a consultation with his ally,
it was agreed on to proceed immediately to the 175
Hapai islands and Vavaoo, and look to their 669
own possessions, rather than run the risk of losing 723
them and their lives too in a dangerous war at 634
the island of Tonga, where the partisans of the
late How were particularly strong. They accordingly 175
set sail for the Hapai islands, and 669
landed at the nearest of them, Namooca, after
a slight resistance from a few of the adherents 726
of Toogoo Ahoo. They soon gained entire possession 634
of Namooca, and thence extended their
arms to the neighbouring islands, meeting with little
opposition, and gathering additional strength,
till they arrived at the island of Haano, where a
large body of the enemy were assembled and in

175 waiting ready to engage them. Here they had
669 an obstinate but decisive battle, which ter-
726 minated in favour of Finow. Thus was the
[634] conquest of all the Hapai islands secured, and
of which Finow was acknowledged king. In
this battle a number of chiefs and matabooles
175 (ministers and attendants of chiefs) were taken
669 prisoners, all of whom having been in the im-
727 mediate service of the late king, were, by the
[634] orders of Finow, put to death in various ways.
[565] Some were sent on board old and useless canoes,
which were then scuttled, and immediately sunk;
others were taken three or four leagues out to
sea, and being put in old leaky canoes, and tied
hand and foot, were left gradually to meet their
[634] fate. Those against whom Finow entertained
the greatest inveteracy were taken to the island
of Lofanga, and there tied naked to stakes
driven in the ground, or to the trunks of trees,
and left to starve to death: whilst they were in
this miserable situation, it is painful to relate the
cruelty exercised towards them by some of the
natives of the place; it must, however, be ac-
knowledged that the ill treatment they received
was chiefly at the hands of thoughtless boys,
who would stick sharp splinters of wood into
their bodies, and tantalize them by showing
them provisions, without giving them any. Not-
withstanding their exposure to the raging heat

of the sun, several of them bore their torments 175
with the greatest fortitude, although lingering 669
till the eighth day; others of weaker constitution 727
died in three or four days. Ever since that
time the natives of the place superstitiously [775]
believe that they can hear their groans frequently at different times during the night:—but this no doubt is occasioned by the roaring of the surf at a distance, or of the sea in subterraneous caverns, which, working upon the imagination, to a certain extent may resemble the groans of dying people *.

Finow, and his ally Toobó Nuha, after public 175
rejoicings at Haano, embarked for Vavaoo, 669
where they were allowed to land without opposition. 726
The people of this island, however, had
heard of the assassination of Toogoo Ahoo by 634
a canoe from the Hapai islands, and were determined to resist the claims of Finow, not by an open war, but in a mode much more harassing and tedious; and he accordingly found the reduction of Vavaoo exceedingly troublesome and dangerous. The enemy, always avoiding a general engagement, frequently molested them with sudden and violent assaults, either under cover of the darkness of the night, or during the day

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* The natives do not regard this as any thing awful, or as a memento of the crime of their chief, but as a matter of curiosity, without attempting to assign any reason for it.

634
175 from their hiding-places. This mode of warfare
669 so exasperated Finow, who was not on such oc-
726 casions of the mildest temper, that he gave
[727] orders that all prisoners who were chiefs should
be reserved for future and exemplary punish-
[565] ment. The contest lasted about fourteen or
fifteen days, during which time the two chiefs
separated, and scoured the island all over, con-
quering wherever they met with opposition. At
[651] length Voona, the chief of Vavaoo, having fled
to Hamoa (the Navigator's islands) with a canoe
full of other chiefs, Finow found himself master
of the whole place, and was declared king, but
he gave up the government of it to Toobó Nuha,
as a sort of viceroy, to pay him an annual tri-
175 bute. The prisoners, at least all that were
669 chiefs, were punished and put to death by means
727 too revolting to the feelings to mention. All
affairs being settled at Vavaoo, Finow returned
to the Hapai islands, to meditate future attempts
upon the island of Tonga.

In the mean time affairs went on very badly
175 at Tonga: Toogoo Ahoo left neither son nor
669 brother to succeed him; but he had several
643 distant relations, who put in claims for the so-
vereignty: thus was a violent civil contention
induced, and the island was soon divided into
175 several petty states. In the course of a little
669 time, each party had built a fort for itself, so
712

175 sistency in all their accounts. From this it will
642 appear, that at the time of Captain Cook's visit,
the whole of Tonga, (that is to say the island
643 of Tonga, the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,) was
634 under the sole dominion of Toogoo Ahoo, whose
[124] seat of government was on the island of Tonga,
[651] and who received tributes from Finow, chief of
the Hapai islands, and from Voona*, chief of
Vavaoo: that at the time of Mr. Mariner's first
arrival the island of Tonga was, and had been
for several years, divided into various petty
states, all at war with one another; whilst Finow was king of the Hapai islands and Vavaoo,
and Toobó Nuha only tributary chief of the
latter place.

669 Mr. Mariner and those of his companions who
were with him at the island of Lefooga, (and
713 were four in number,) received orders from the
722 king to prepare for the usual annual attack upon
727 the island of Tonga, and to get ready four 12
pound carronades. They immediately set to
work, to mount them upon new carriages with
high wheels, made by the native carpenters,
[726] under their directions. This being done, Finow

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* Voona, it is related, did not pay his tributes regularly as he ought to have done, but being a powerful chief, and his possessions so far from the seat of government, Toogoo Ahoo had never ventured to take hostile measures.

expressed his opinion, that the gun was an instrument 669
not well fitted (being too unwieldy) 719
for their mode of warfare, which consisted in 722
sudden attacks and retreats, according to circumstances, 726
rather than in a steady engagement. 727
He very readily entered into an acknowledgment of the advantages of a steady contest, but was apprehensive that his men would not easily be brought to stand it. Mr. Mariner and his companions, however, promised that they and their countrymen (who were dispersed upon other islands,) would remain in the front of the battle with their four guns, provided the Tonga people would agree to stand fast and support them. The king assented to this on the part of his men, and a few days afterwards, when he reviewed them, he signified his wishes, and they swore to fulfil their duty.

In the mean time the Englishmen employed 669
themselves in collecting the shot which the natives 719
had brought from on board, but which they 722
had thrown aside, not being able to shape them 727
for any common purpose. They also cut up a quantity of sheet lead, and made it up in rolls
to be used as shot. During this time every 669
preparation was also making by the natives for 722
the approaching war: they repaired the sails of their canoes, collected their arrows, spears,

734 She had just been in the act of picking up a shell or something, as the shot struck her; when she screamed out, and springing two or three feet from the ground, fell into the sea. The people in general were rather glad that she was dead, as she used to break in upon religious ceremonies, and on other occasions, when they were drinking cava, and dance about to the annoyance of every body, sometimes with scarcely any clothes on, which is considered very indecent and disrespectful.

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669 All things being now prepared for the inva-
[782] sion of Tonga, the gods were invoked; and the
[787] priests assured Finow of success*. The large
canoes of Lefooga, about fourteen in number,
[716] were then launched, which, with Toobó Nuha's
669 fleet from Vavaoo, made together about fifty
726 sail. Orders were sent by Finow to all the
Hapai islands to make the island of Namooca
the place of general rendezvous. These fifty
sail under the direction of Finow, four of the
largest having each a carronade on board, proceeded towards the appointed place; but on
account of contrary winds were obliged to put
[714] into Wiha. Here Finow took an opportunity
[177] to review his men, most of them being painted

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* The ceremony of invocation, and the supposed inspiration of the priests, will be described hereafter, at a better opportunity.

and drest after the warlike manner of the Fiji 669
islands. They paraded up and down for some 726
time, brandishing their clubs and spears, and [714
exhibiting a sort of sham fight. Finow sat with 777]
several other chiefs in the house on the *malái**. Each warrior of note ran singly close up to Finow, and striking his club violently on the ground, cried out "this is the club for ——," mentioning the name of some individual enemy whom he meant particularly to seek out and engage; others running up in the same way, exclaimed, "Fear not, Finow; no sooner shall "we land at Tonga than here is the club with "which I will kill any one who dares to oppose
"us." Finow and the chiefs thanked them for [537
their sentiments of love and loyalty, and then 703
he addressed them in a speech to the following 761]
purpose: "Be brave in battle; fear not death: "it is far better to die in war than to live to "be assassinated at home, or to perish by a lingering disease."

After remaining a day and a night at this island, they again put to sea with the additional force of six canoes, and made sail for Namooca,
where they arrived in a few hours. Here they [716]

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* The *malái* is a grass-plat, about three acres in extent, [344]
with a house on it, and is used for various public purposes, as in the present instance; there are generally four or five of them on each island. As Vavaoo is comparatively a large island, it has fourteen or fifteen.

669 had another review like the former; and after
726 remaining two days, sailed with all the rest of
[716] the forces of the confederate islands, amounting in all to about one hundred and seventy canoes, direct for the island of Tonga. Owing to the calmness of the weather, they did not reach their destination the same evening in sufficient time to land, but went on shore at a small island close by, called Pángaimótoo, where they passed the night.

Before morning, several presents were
778 brought to Finow and his chiefs, by the people
[634] living at a consecrated place on the island of
[431] Tonga, called Mafanga. Mafanga is a piece of ground about half a mile square, situated on
[766] the western part of the island. In this spot are the graves where the greatest chiefs from time
[764] immemorial have been buried, and the place is therefore considered sacred; it would be a sacrilege to fight here, and nobody can be prevented from landing: if the most inveterate enemies meet upon this ground, they must look upon each other as friends, under penalty of the displeasure of the Gods, and consequently an untimely death, or some great misfortune. There
726 are several of these consecrated places on different
669 islands.

634 The following morning, Finow with several
796 of his chiefs and matabooles landed at Ma-
769

fanga: they immediately proceeded to his fa- 726 669
ther's grave, (Mr. Mariner being also with them) 634
to perform the ceremony of Toogi. All who 796
went for this purpose put on mats instead of 769
their usual dress, and wreaths made of the leaves
of the *ifi* tree round their necks (significant of [292]
respect and humility). They sat down cross- [824]
legged (the usual way of sitting) before the [516]
grave; Finow, as well as the rest, beating their
cheeks with their fists for about half a minute, 726
without speaking a word. One of the principal 669
matabooles then addressed the spirit of Finow's 634
father to the following purpose: “ Behold the 796
“ man (meaning Finow) who has come to 769
“ Tonga to fight his enemies: be pleased with 782
“ him, and grant him thy protection; he comes [565]
“ to battle, hoping he is not doing wrong; he
“ has always held Tooitonga* in the highest
“ respect, and has attended to all religious cere-
“ monies with exactness.” One of the attend-
ants then went to Finow, and received from
him a piece of cava root, which he laid down on
the raised mount before the Fytoka (burying-
place). Several others, who had pieces of cava
root in their bosoms, went up to the grave in 726
like manner and deposited them. The cere- 669
mony being thus finished, Finow and his friends 634

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* Tooitonga is a great chief, supposed to be descended from a God.

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796
[643]

726
669 returned to the beach, where a large root of cava
634 was brought to them as a present, by the chief
431 of the consecrated place, on which they re-
276 galed.

796 During this time, the greater part of the
forces in the canoes employed themselves in
669 preparing for battle, again painting their bodies
726 and faces after various fanciful forms. The
[714] enemy on shore were also in a state of preparation: they shouted the war-whoop, and ran up and down the beach with furious gestures; splashing up the water with their clubs, brandishing them in the air, flourishing their spears, and bidding bold defiance to their invaders.

Finow and his attendants having returned on
712 board, the whole fleet proceeded to a neigh-
[669] bouring fortress called Nioocalofa, the strongest,
[726] though not the largest, in the whole island.
As it will be proper to understand the usual form and construction of these Tonga fortresses, we shall give a general description of them, taking that of Nioocalofa as a model for the rest.

The fortress of Nioocalofa is situated on the western coast of the island, about one hundred yards distant from the water's edge, occupying
712 about four or five acres of ground. It con-
349 sists, in the first place, of a strong wall or fencing
of reeds, something like wicker-work, supported

CHAPTER IV.

Disembarkation of the forces—Siege of Nioocalofa—Destruction of the fortress—Cruelty of the conquerors—Description of the effect of the artillery—Embarkation for Pangaimotoo—Ceremony of invoking a God—Inspiration of a priest—Return to Tonga—The fortress rebuilt—Cannibalism—Garrison of Bea enters into alliance with Finow—Finow embarks again for Pangaimotoo, leaving the fortress in the care of the chief of Bea—Treachery of this chief—Return of the fleet to the Hapai islands—Astonishment of Finow at the mode of communicating sentiments by writing, with the circumstance that gave rise to it—A Tonga chief and his family join Finow—Arrival at Lefooga—Ceremony of Fuccalahi—Ceremony of marriage between Tooitonga and Finow's daughter. 000

FINOW being arrived with the whole of his fleet off Nioocalofa, and having with him, besides Mr. Mariner, fifteen other Englishmen, eight of whom were armed with muskets, he proceeded to land his troops under cover of a fire of musketry, which speedily drove almost all the enemy who had sallied forth back into the garrison. The first fire killed three, and wounded several; and a repetition of it threw them into such dismay, that in five minutes only forty of the bravest remained to molest them; and these began to retire, as the forces of Finow increased 669 726

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on the beach. In the mean while, the carronades were dismounted from their carriages, slung on poles, and conveyed over a shallow reef to the shore. The whole army being landed, and the guns again mounted, the latter were drawn up before the garrison, and a regular fire was commenced. [634] Finow took his station on the reef, seated in an English chair, (from the Port au Prince) for his chiefs would not allow him to expose his person on shore. The fire of the carronades was kept up for about an hour: in the mean while, as it did not appear to do all the mischief to the exterior of the fortress, owing to the yielding nature of its materials, that the king expected, he sent for Mr. Mariner, and expressed his disappointment: the latter replied, that no doubt there was mischief enough done on the inside of the fort, wherever there were resisting bodies, such as canoes, the posts and beams of houses, &c.; and that it was already very evident the besieged had no reason to think slightly of the effect of the artillery, seeing that they had already greatly slackened their exertions, not half the number of arrows being now discharged from the fort; arising, in all probability, from the number of the slain, or of those who had fled up into the country. It was now resolved to set fire to the place; for which purpose a number of torches were pre-

pared and lighted, and an attack was made upon the outer fencing; it was found, however, but weakly defended, and was soon taken: for the door-posts being shot away, an easy entrance was obtained. A considerable portion of the inner fencing was now found undefended, and towards this place a party rushed with lighted torches, whilst the enemy were kept in play elsewhere: the conflagration spread rapidly on every side; and, as the besieged endeavoured to make their escape, their brains were knocked out by a party of the besiegers, stationed at the back of the fort for the purpose. During this time the guns kept up a regular fire with blank cartridges, merely to intimidate the enemy. The conquerors, club in hand, entered the place in several quarters, and slew all they met, men, women, and children. The scene was truly horrible. The war-whoop shouted by the combatants, the heart-rending screams of the women and children, the groans of the wounded, the number of the dead, and the fierceness of the conflagration, formed a picture almost too distracting and awful for the mind steadily to contemplate. Some, with a kind of sullen and stupid resignation, offered no resistance, but waited for the hand of fate to dispatch them, no matter in what mode: others, that were already lying on the ground wounded,

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669 726 were stuck with spears, and beaten about with clubs by boys who followed the expedition to be trained to the horrors of war, and who delighted in the opportunity of gratifying their ferocious and cruel disposition. Every house that was not on fire was plundered of its contents; and the conquerors made a considerable booty of bales of gnatoo, mats, &c.*

In a few hours, the fortress of Nioocalofa,
669 which had obstinately and bravely defended
727 every attack for eleven years, or more, was thus completely destroyed. When Finow arrived upon the place, and saw several canoes which had been hauled up in the garrison, shattered to pieces by the shot, and discovered a number of legs and arms lying around, and about three hundred and fifty bodies stretched upon the ground, he expressed his wonder and astonishment at the dreadful effect of the guns. He thanked his men for their bravery, and Mr. Mariner and his companions in particular, for the great assistance rendered by them.

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[714] * In this affair one of Finow's men, a native of Fiji, had made himself a sort of breast-plate of an earthenware fish-strainer, such as is laid in the bottom of dishes when fish is brought to table, which he had procured from the Port au Prince; but unluckily it happened that an arrow pierced him directly through the hole, which is commonly in the middle of such strainers: the wound laid him up eight months, and he never afterwards, in Mr. Mariner's time, was able to hold himself perfectly erect.

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A few of the enemy, who had escaped the general slaughter, were taken prisoners. They gave a curious description of the effect of the guns. They declared, that, when a ball entered a house, it did not proceed straight forward, but went all round the place, as if seeking for men to kill; it then passed out of the house and entered another, still in search of food for its vengeance, and so on to a third, &c.; sometimes it would strike the corner-post of a house, and bring it all down together. The chiefs, seeing all this dreadful mischief going forward, rendered still more tremendous by their own imaginations, sat in consultation, upon one of the large canoes just mentioned, and came to a determination to rush out upon the white men, and take possession of the guns: this was scarcely resolved upon, when a shot struck the canoe on which they were sitting, and shattered it to pieces. This so damped their courage, that they ran for security to one of the inner houses of the garrison, when their distress was much increased by finding their men deserting the place, and running up into the country. Thus every thing was going to destruction within, although, without, the damage appeared in Finow's eyes so inconsiderable; but he had formed his judgment of the effect of the guns by their effect upon the fencing.

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349 plan was marked out somewhat different from
712 the former, and larger, as being judged more
727 suitable to their views; a vast number of hands
were employed, and in two days the building
was finished: a few alterations and additions
were afterwards made as occasion and convenience
[164] required. During the time this was about,
several of the men got dangerously wounded
by falling into the *lovosás* and *sokies* *, of which
there were several on the land side of the *colo*.
[766] They were also much annoyed by the smell of
the dead bodies that lay every where about, but
which they did not take the trouble to bury, as
they were enemies, and none of them their relations †.
The canoes were now hauled up on
the beach, and a strong fencing of stakes driven
round them. The four guns were drawn into
the fortress, and one placed at each door.

A few days afterwards a small party who
669 went up into the country according to their
726 daily custom, for the purpose of gathering

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[*] Lovosás are pit-falls, dug five feet deep and four broad; several stakes of bamboo are driven into the bottom and sharpened. Sokies are smaller holes, with one stake in, and large enough to admit a man's leg. These *lovosas* and *sokies* are covered over with slender sticks concealed from sight by plantain leaves and earth.

[†] The bodies that were found within the confines of the fortress they were of course obliged to remove, and these were thrown for the most part into the sea, which occasioned a greater number of sharks to frequent the place for a time.

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cocoa nuts, were attacked by a larger party of 669
the enemy, when one man was killed, but the 726
rest escaped back to the *colo*. Upon this, a
body of two hundred set out, (Mr. Mariner 669
among them,) in pursuit of the enemy: they 726
found them, and were kept at a running fight, 727
till they were decoyed beyond a place where another party lay concealed, who immediately rose, attacked them in the rear, and killed about thirty. The Hapai people now began to run, and Mr. Mariner with four of the natives who were engaged with another party, found it necessary to decamp also: in crossing a field of high grass, Mr. Mariner fell into a hole six feet deep; his four faithful friends were resolved to save him, and three defended the place with their spears, while one helped him out: one of the three was killed on the spot. Being extricated from his perilous situation, and finding a large body of the enemy close upon them, they resolved to sell their lives to the utmost advantage. At this moment, their own party looking round and seeing these four bravely make a stand, came up with all speed to their assistance, and a general battle took place, which was obstinately fought for some time, but at length the enemy was completely put to the rout. Whilst this was going forward, a Hapai 669
chief at some distance from their friends met a 726

669 726 Tonga chief under the same circumstances: they immediately engaged with their clubs; one however being soon disarmed, and the other having broken his club, they fought a long time with their fists; and when they were so weak that they could not strike, they grappled with each other, and both fell to the ground exhausted with fatigue: the Tonga chief, incapable of injuring his antagonist in any other way, got his fingers into his mouth, and gnawed them dreadfully: after having thus laid for a long time looking at each other, they gathered a little fresh strength, and by mutual agreement each crawled home to his respective fort.

The Hapai men, on their way back to Nioocalofa, found several of their friends in different parts of the road, who were unable to proceed on account of their wounds. But they were too weak themselves to carry them, and were obliged to leave them to the mercy of the enemy. They at length arrived at the *colo*, tired and fatigued beyond conception, with about fifteen prisoners.

727 669 266 [177] [724] The following day, some of the younger chiefs, who had contracted the Fiji habits, proposed to kill the prisoners, lest they should make their escape, and then to roast and eat them. This proposal was readily agreed to, by

766 during the siege. This being granted, they
727 came and singled out half a dozen, from the
350 that lay about, whom they knew, from
particular circumstances, to be their relations.
These they took home to Nookoo Nookoo, leaving all the rest where they found them.

669 Every day a number of deserters from different
garrisons came over to Finow: they all
726 brought intelligence that Finow might shortly
expect an attack from one or other of them: but the fortress of Nioocalofa was now well prepared to receive them. In the meanwhile, the chief of a fortress called Bea, about four miles to the eastward, entered into an alliance with Finow, or rather submitted to his dominion, acknowledging him king of Tonga. The name of this chief was Tarky.

Having remained a fortnight or three weeks in daily expectation of an attack from an enemy, and seeing yet no signs of it, Finow became exceedingly impatient; for he was desirous of returning to the Hapai islands to perform an indispensable ceremony of a religious
766 nature, which we shall now explain. At the
784 death of Tooitonga, (their great divine chief)
there is such a constant feasting for nearly a
262 month, as to threaten a future scarcity of certain
765 kinds of provisions: to prevent which evil,
643 a prohibition, or *táboo*, is afterwards laid upon
[565]

634 make some further arrangements with Tarky',
728 and to leave a hundred of his men to garrison
Nioocalofa till his return: but being advised
not to do so, lest this chief should prove treacherous,
and put his hundred men to death, he
resolved to give the fortress wholly up to Tarky''s
possession, and not run the risk of losing his
men. He accordingly ordered the canoes to be
launched, and stored with provisions; and having
given up Nioocalofa to Tarky''s chiefs, upon
their faithful promise to take all due care of it,
he went on board with all his army the same
afternoon, and landed at Pangaimotoo, intending
to sail the following morning for the Hapai
islands.

669 During the night, a great fire was seen at
726 Tonga, towards Nioocalofa, and the fortress itself
was suspected to be on fire; but whether
from accident, or the treachery of Tarky', Finow
was resolved to learn as soon as possible.
Before sunrise, therefore, he sent out a canoe to
make inquiry: it soon returned with the information,
received from a well disposed subject of
Tarky', that the place was burnt by order of
that chief, whilst Finow was in sight, on purpose
634 to vex and irritate him. At this insult,
Finow was so enraged, that he resolved to go
back immediately, and exterminate Tarky' and
all his family: but the priests persuaded him

the yams being all planted,) should assemble 634 669
within ten days at Lefooga, armed with clubs 702
and spears, and supplied with a good store of [722]
provisions. Being all arrived within the time
proposed, Finow issued orders to all his forces
to prepare for a review. On the appointed day 669
they assembled on a *malái*, to the amount of 702
about six thousand; all armed, and painted, 726
and dressed according to some warlike fancy. 634
Finow then delivered a speech, in which he declared [701]
his opinion that the Tonga mode of warfare [714]
had, hitherto, been upon a very bad principle;
and that instead of running forwards 669
and then retreating, accordingly as they met 702
with advantages or disadvantages, they ought 726
rather to remain together in a body, and not to 634
retreat on every trifling occasion, but to push 177
forward with the most determined courage, and thus dash terror into the minds of their enemies; or by standing their ground with unconquerable steadiness, to strike them with astonishment at their fortitude and strength; for such he had heard was the way of fighting in England, (meaning Europe at large,) and it claimed his highest admiration:——" and," he added, " if any man sees the point of a spear " advancing upon his breast, he is not to run " back like a coward, but push forward upon it, " and at the risk of his life, deal destruction on

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669 "his foe." This last sentence he A bellowed
702 forth in a tone and loudness of voice that made
726 every one tremble, for in this particular he was
634 very remarkable; when powerfully and passionately
[177] excited, the sound of his voice was like
the roaring of a wild beast, and might be heard
[195] at an incredible distance.

Having finished his speech, several of his warriors ran up to him, striking their clubs furiously on the ground, bidding him not to be afraid of his enemies, for that, comparatively speaking, there were no real warriors in Vavaoo: and that they would stand by him to the very last. The king then addressed them again, describing, in a more particular manner, how they were to proceed in their encounter with the enemy, on the approach of whom they were all to sit down on the ground, and remain perfectly still, as if unconcerned in what was going forward; and even though the enemy were to throw spears and discharge arrows, they were nevertheless to remain motionless till they received orders to rise and rush upon them in a body; this they were to do with ardour and impetuosity; and he was quite certain, he said, that such a sudden and bold attack would put them completely to the rout. He then made them practise this manœuvre several times. Lastly, he spirited them up with thoughts of

A [Finow--Analyst]

glory and honour, telling them at the same 669
time, that death was a thing to be despised,— 702
not to be feared by a brave man, whose name 726
would still live with a lasting life, when his 634
body was buried in the dust. He then dismissed them, with orders that those belonging to the northern islands might immediately return home, but were shortly to proceed to Haano, the northernmost island of all the Hapais, and there to wait the arrival of him and all his southern forces on their way to Vavaoo.

About this time a circumstance happened, 727
which deserves in a particular manner to be re- 609
corded, because it evinces a disposition in the 685
natives to act with more justice, mercy, and discrimination, than what one might otherwise be tempted to expect. Two boys, about fourteen years of age, viz. Thomas Eversfield, an Englishman, and John Roberts, a black native of Tortola, (both belonging to the Port au Prince,) were detected stealing a bale of *gnatoo*
from a consecrated house. If they had been [565]
natives, they would instantly have been pu- [693]
nished with death: but the chiefs and matabooles took the matter into consideration, and resolved, that, as they were foreigners, and so young and thoughtless, the offence, this time,
should be overlooked. Nevertheless, to ap- 727
pease the anger of the god, to whom the house 609
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ticular request. They brought intelligence that 669
it was not the wish of Toe Oomoo and her [628]
chiefs to be at war with Hapai, but that they
considered it a duty they owed to themselves
to act with strong measures in regard to Finow,
whom they esteemed of so treacherous a character,
that a peace with him now would only
be the forerunner of disaster and inglorious
death to themselves, and on this account, they
chose rather to meet their fate in the field,
than to live an idle and peaceful life for a short
time, and at length be cruelly murdered to
satisfy his revenge.—They moreover stated that
it was the determination of the Vavaoo warriors
to rush out suddenly upon the white men, and
take possession of the guns.

A few days afterwards, all affairs being settled 669
in regard to the management of the plantations, 726
the canoes were refitted and launched, [701]
and early in the morning the king, and all the
forces with him, (about 4000 strong) proceeded
to Haano, about three leagues to the north, to
join those who, according to orders, were waiting
for them. At Haano, the king was received 669
with customary feasting and rejoicing, 726
and on the following day the gods were consulted 787
in regard to the expedition. The answer 728
was similar to the admonition formerly given,
viz. that the king should first proceed to Va-

669 vaoo with three canoes only, with such men as
726 had few or no relations at Vavaoo (lest they
787 should be tempted to desert), but above all with
such also as had not been instrumental in the
728 assassination of Toobó Nuha, nor had been formerly
his adherents, lest their presence might
excite still farther the anger of the Vavaoo
people; and, thus accompanied, should offer
669 terms of peace in the most friendly manner.
728 Finow, having by this time had sufficient opportunity
634 to reflect coolly and deliberately, and
therefore more wisely, upon this business, entered
readily into the measure. Three canoes
were got ready, and Finow, with some of the
choicest fighting men, of such description as
the oracle approved of, went on board: Mr.
Mariner was in the king's canoe, and two
other Englishmen were on board one of the
others, and they proceeded towards Vavaoo.
As they approached the shores of this island
they came up with several canoes belonging to
it, endeavouring to make their escape, for they
fancied these were only the head canoes of a
large fleet drawing near to make an attack
upon Vavaoo. The king, however, informed
them that he was not coming with warlike
intentions, but that his object was peace, and
he was paying them a visit for the sole purpose
of adjusting matters amicably; he then dis-

CHAPTER VI.

Finow embarks again with all his army for Vavaoo, and arrives at Neafoo—Alarm in the night—Presence of mind in one of Finow's men—Plan of attack—Siege commences—An armistice—Accident to Mr. Mariner, which causes the battle to be renewed—Audacity of a Vavaoo warrior—Finow forbids the guns to be used—Sortie of the enemy—Bravery of Chiooloon—Wonderful escape of Latoo Ila—Conduct of the Hapai women—Finow's army returns to Neafoo, and builds a fortress there—Alarm in the night—Revolt of a young chief to the enemy, and the consequences—Slaughter of the enemy by an ambuscade—Sixty bodies offered to the gods—Cannibalism—Supposed treachery of Lioofau—The king returns thanks to his tutelar god—Hints of his priest—Apprehension and punishment of Mappa Haano—Regulations respecting deserters—Cruelties exercised upon four of the enemy—Desertion of Toobo Boogoo from the enemy—One of Finow's canoes surprised by an attack from Maccapapa at the island of Taoonga—Finow sends out an expedition against Maccapapa's canoes, and takes ten—Attack on the enemy's field of yams.—Mr. Mariner wounded—An attempt to secure the enemy's hogs. 000

The day after the return of the expedition, the 669
gods were invoked in the usual way, and the [787]
oracular answer was, to proceed immediately
to war against Vavaoo. All things being in 669
readiness, the following morning the king em- 726
barked with the whole of his forces, about 5000 [701]
men, besides 1000 women, in fifty large canoes,

669 with the four carronades, ammunition, and every
726 thing necessary for a vigorous attack upon the strong fortress of Vavaoo. Towards evening,
[701] the fleet arrived at Fonnooi-fooa (one of the small islands in the neighbourhood of Vavaoo), whence Finow dispatched four canoes, manned with select warriors, up the inlet, towards the fortress, with orders to kill whomsoever they
[787] could. They succeeded in killing three men, and severely wounding a fourth, whom, with the three dead bodies, they brought to Finow. Killing these three men, in the first attempt upon the enemy, was by no means to be considered a trifling advantage, for it was supposed to augur the protection of the gods, and great future successes.

Early in the morning, the Hapai fleet proceeded up the inlet to Neafoo (the consecrated spot formerly mentioned), where they landed safely, leaving the women in the canoes. The four carronades were planted opposite the house of a neighbouring malái, ready to be drawn up the following morning to the fortress, which was about three miles off. The day was spent in settling and arranging sundry matters. During the night, which was exceedingly dark, a considerable degree of alarm was excited by two or three of the enemy, who approached, and threw a spear among a number of Finow's people, asleep near the house; it happened, however, to strike a bundle of spears that was placed upright against a tree, and, throwing it down, occasioned such a noise, that several of the men were awakened by it, who, thinking that the main body of the enemy was coming down upon them, began to run away; at this moment, one of them, more courageous than the rest, snatching up a piece of lighted wood, applied it to the touch-hole of one of the guns, which instantly went off, and produced such an effect on the enemy, that no more was heard of him that night. This certainly was a bold act for a man who had never before fired a gun in his life, and might in the worst case have been productive of the best effects, for, if the enemy had come in considerable numbers, as was at the moment falsely imagined, and this man had not had such presence of mind, all Finow's army might have been put completely to the rout, their guns taken from them, and a vast number of them slain: as it was, the report of the gun, awakening all who were yet asleep, induced such a degree of consternation as is scarcely to be conceived; they ran in all directions, but most of them to the canoes, and it was some time before their fears were sufficiently calmed for them to be induced to return. The man who performed this exploit received

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669 much praise and respect for his bravery; as to
726 promotion, it is a thing not known among
[703] them, for no man can hold a rank in society
which he is not born to (see second volume);
[565] and as to other modes of reward, the merit of a good or brave action is considered its best reward, together with the admiration and respect which it creates, unless the party makes a point to boast of it, and then his merit is set almost at nought.

[634] Early the following morning Finow divided
[701] his army into three grand divisions: the right wing was commanded by Toobó Tóa, the left by Lioofau, chief of Haano, and the centre by Finow himself: the guns were allotted, two to the centre, and one to each flank, and were managed by seven Englishmen, besides Mr. Mariner and a black native of South America, taken by the Port au Prince in one of her prizes. Matters being thus arranged, and Finow having repeated the orders he had formerly issued, viz. that his men should keep themselves perfectly steady, and not attack the enemy till they were quite close to them,—the army began its march towards the garrison. After four or five hours interrupted progress, owing chiefly to the weight of the guns and the badness of the road, they arrived before the fortress, on the banks of which a vast number of

the enemy were assembled. As they approached, 669
a shower of arrows was discharged upon 726
them; but Finow ordered a mataboole to advance
forward and request an armistice, that 669
each party might take leave of what friends and 726
relations they might have among their opponents*; 593
which being granted, a number came 602
out of the garrison to take a farewell of their
relatives,—perhaps the last farewell of those
who were about to fight against them. Here
ensued a moving scene; many tears were shed
on both sides, and many a last embrace exchanged.
This affecting spectacle had lasted 669
about two hours, when a circumstance accidentally 726
occurred, unfortunate enough in its 727
consequences, but which might have turned
out still more so. One of the enemy, upon the
outer bank of the fortress, wantonly shot an
arrow at Mr. Mariner, but which fortunately
missed him, and stuck in a tree close at his

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* In a civil war at these islands, as well as at other places, it often happens that sons have to fight against their fathers, and brothers against their brothers; but what renders this circumstance still more common at Tonga, is the adherence to an old established custom, which binds every man in honour to join the cause of that chief on whose island he happens to be at the time the war is declared, unless some circumstance, as particular relationship between great men, engages the chief of the island, upon earnest request, to give him liberty to depart.

669 elbow; he immediately turned about, and dis-
726 covering the man who discharged it, levelled
727 his musket, on the impulse of the moment, and
shot him dead upon the spot: instantly the enemy sounded the war-whoop, and all was uproar and confusion. The king, not understanding the cause, was in a most violent rage with Mr. Mariner, and would forthwith have dispatched him with his club, had he been near enough: his matabooles did all they could to calm his temper, but he was not easily pacified: he sent a man to Mr. Mariner to demand his musket, but the latter, feeling himself aggrieved, peremptorily refused: Finow, by this time, becoming somewhat more calm, and learning the true cause of the disaster, was speedily recon-
669 ciled. In the mean time the enemy, conceiv-
726 ing this to be a piece of treachery, returned to
their entrenchments, and assailed the besiegers with showers of arrows. The king now ordered the great guns to open a fire upon the fort, but they seemed to do little or no injury to the works, owing to the height of the place and the strength of the embankment; several, however, were killed who ventured outside of it. The firing had lasted, with occasional intermissions, during six or seven hours, when a considerable number of the enemy were perceived coming out of the fencing, and sheltering

themselves behind the banks, with the evident 669
intention of sallying forth. Upon this the king 726
ordered all his men to sit down, and to remain perfectly quiet and steady, although the enemy should advance quite close to them, till they received his further orders to rise up and rush upon them. They accordingly sat down. A party of fifteen or sixteen now came down from the fort, and seven or eight of the Hapai people ran forward to skirmish with them. One of 669
the advanced party of the enemy came up to 726
within fifteen or sixteen yards of the carronade, 727
of which Mr. Mariner had the charge, and there stood, brandishing his spear in a threatening attitude: Mr. Mariner immediately fired the gun at him, but the moment the match was applied the man fell flat on his face, and the shot missed him: the moment after he sprung up again, and advanced forward to within ten paces of the gun, dancing and making sundry warlike gesticulations; he then brandished and threw his spear, intending it to enter the gun, but it struck against the muzzle. Mr. Mariner, astonished at the boldness and presumption of this warrior, was determined to punish him for his rashness, and accordingly levelled his musket, but just as he was pulling the trigger, an arrow struck the barrel of the piece, and caused him to miss his aim. The warrior

669 then shouted aloud, and returned with all speed
726 to the fortress. Here the reader will no doubt
727 recollect the bravado of a man who assumed the name of Fanna Fonnooa (p. 149), and declared that he would advance boldly up to a gun and throw his spear into the mouth of it, by way of expressing his contempt for this instrument of warfare. This warrior was the man; and he no doubt would have shared a severer fate, had Mr. Mariner been prepared for him, but having treated that threat as an idle boast, he had altogether forgotten the circumstance, and did not again reflect on it till after it was over.

669 The main body of the enemy was still stationed behind the banks, upon places cut for
726 them to stand on, so that they were defended breast high, and thus had an opportunity of discharging their arrows in abundance, without much risk of receiving a shot in return. After a time, however, they came forth from their strong hold, and assembled on the outside, forming themselves quickly into three divisions, the same as Finow's army. Most of the greatest and bravest warriors stationed themselves in the left wing, with the view of descending, with all their concentrated power, on Finow's right wing, commanded by Toobó Tóa, along with whom were the other principal

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men that had assassinated Toobó Nuha, six or seven in number: against *each* of these twenty of the enemy's left wing had orders to throw their spears, at a signal to be given, without directing their attention particularly to any one else, each party of twenty having singled out its man. These matters having been arranged, and having stationed themselves outside the bank as above stated, the whole advanced slowly and steadily forward. Finow's men still remained seated on the ground, according to the orders that had been given them, except a few who danced before them, by way of showing their contempt for the enemy, and of provoking them to hostilities. Mr. Mariner requested Finow to order these men in, that a cannonade might be opened upon the enemy; but the king objected, stating that as they ventured forward in an open body he would receive their attack, and fight them upon equal terms; that these guns gave him too great an advantage, such as he scorned to take; that it was more honourable to fight them man to man than to use against them arms that were rather fitted for the hostilities of spirits than of men*:

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* The use of artillery seems to have conveyed to the imagination of Finow the same idea of tremendous warfare as is inspired by the expression of our great poet—

"Battle dangerous to less than gods."

669 at the same time he returned his thanks for the advantages formerly derived from the use of
726 these weapons, which he thought well calculated for the destruction of forts.
[727]

The enemy now advanced within thirty paces, and threw their spears: instantly the Hapai army, too eager to remain longer quiet, sprang up, and rushing upon their foes, a close engagement commenced, which was obstinately maintained for about an hour, when the enemy were repulsed, and beaten completely back into their fortress. It was now twilight, but the Hapai warriors pursued them to their very doors. One chief in particular, Chioolooa, although he was wounded in the breast by a five-barbed spear, the shaft of which he had broken off, rushed even within the banks of their fortress, and there knocked out a man's brains; in making his retreat, however, he was wounded in the back by another spear, which, not being barbed, he drew out, and ran back to his own party; but the wound was mortal, and he lingered till the next day. This was the same chief, who, on the day of Toobó Nuha's burial, challenged any of the Vavaoo people to fight him (p. 145): he came to battle, he said, with a kind of presentiment that he should be killed, and was determined, therefore, to sell his life as dearly as possible.

669 she been of the king's family, she would no
727 doubt have been retained a prisoner.

[565] Night was now set in, but, by Finow's orders,
a firing was kept up, merely with stones, to
669 avoid a waste of shot, because no good aim
726 could be taken : this lasted for about an hour.
[565] The king's matabooles then made several
speeches to the garrison, soliciting the Vavaoo
chiefs to submit to the government of Finow,
but they objected, under the apprehension that
they should be afterwards killed by the treachery
[634] of the king or of Toobó Tóa. Finow
then addressed them, threatening to remain
there the whole night, and the next day to set
about building a fort opposite theirs, and to
keep up the war until they either yielded or
were destroyed.

Shortly after this, however, he gave orders
to his men to repair as silently and as speedily
as possible to Neáfoo. He deceived the enemy
in this way, to prevent them proceeding by
another road, and cutting off his retreat. The
guns were given in charge to some of the principal
warriors, with men under their command
669 to drag them along. The labour of doing this
726 for three miles was by no means trifling, particularly
713 as the road was very uneven : they swore
829 heartily at all guns, and all Englishmen for
making them, and wanted to know why they

could not construct them a little lighter; or at 669
least, as they had ingenuity enough to make the 726
guns, they ought to have, they said, the inge- [713]
nuity also to make legs for them to walk with. [829]

Being arrived at Neafoo, the king, his chiefs, matabooles, Mr. Mariner, and some of the Englishmen, went on board the canoes to pass the night. Mr. Mariner now, as well as in numerous other instances, found the advantage of 705
having an adopted mother, by whom he was 262
provided with plenty of good food, consisting [727]
of cooked yams, ripe bananas, and raw fish. [597]
They had partaken of no food all the day, and even now not above thirty or forty, consisting of chiefs and matabooles, got any thing to eat, for the time was too far advanced, and the common men too fatigued, to cook yams enough for themselves that night; and as to raw fish, it was considered too good, and at that time too scarce, to give to them *.

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* The idea of eating raw fish is not one of the least revolting to the imagination; and we are too readily disposed to believe, that nothing but excessive hunger could render this species of food at all palatable: hence voyagers, on witnessing this act among the natives of these islands, have reasonably supposed them to be some of the lower orders much distressed for want of food (vide Labillardiere's voyage); but the fact is, raw fish is a very palatable diet, and is accordingly eaten as a matter of choice, not of necessity. Being strongly assured of this fact by Mr. Mariner, I made the trial, and repeated it several times upon mackarel, salmon,

The next morning, after the men had refreshed
669 themselves, armed parties were sent out
712 to cut reeds, for the purpose of building a fortress
at Nëáfoo: Finow and his principal chiefs
remained to lay out the plan, whilst others were
employed in digging a ditch about fourteen
feet wide and ten feet deep. The spot on
which this fortress was planned out was so situated,
that one side was close upon the sea-shore,
on a steep rocky bank, and therefore required
no further defence, for the enemy had no large
canoes, having broken up all they had to make
small ones, and with these it would be imprudent
to venture as far as Neafoo, lest their retreat
should be cut off by Finow's larger and
669 swifter canoes. In the course of the day the
726 fencing and ditch were tolerably well completed,
so that the following night the greater
164 part of the army slept on shore; but they were
165 not without alarm, for about midnight, a small
party of the enemy having come down to reconnoitre,
looked through the openings of some
part of the fencing that was not quite finished,
and seeing several of the men sitting round a

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[705] and turbot, and found the assertion perfectly correct: all
[262] the preparation necessary, is to take off the skin, and wash
the fish with a little salt water; it will then taste as relishing
as the oyster, and very similar to it. If we eat the
oyster raw, why not other fish?

fire conversing together, they threw several spears at them, which wounded many, and struck all with a panic: the whole garrison was instantly in a state of confusion; and a great number so far lost their presence of mind as to endeavour to make their escape on board the canoes; in this attempt, forgetting that it was low water, they leapt from off the banks, and fell upon the shelf of rocks below, in consequence of which several of them had broken arms and legs, and sundry contusions, which, together with the fright, producing universal spasm (tetanus *) in some of them, caused their death a day or two afterwards. In about a quarter of an hour the alarm perfectly subsided, and they passed the rest of the night quietly. 669 726 [164] [165]

During the following day the fencing was completed, and a second ditch was planned round the former; this, however, was to be without any fencing, that the guns might be brought to bear more readily upon the enemy, in case they should make a descent upon Nëáfoo. This ditch was to be eighteen feet wide, and about ten deep. In three days it was dug, and the fortress completed. In the mean time the canoes were hauled up within the fencing, but no active operations were effected on either 669 712 669 723

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* Their mode of treating this disease, and their success in sometimes curing it, will be related under its proper head.

669 723 side. Four or five women, however, revolted from the enemy, and brought information that the chiefs of Vavaoo, having now revenged themselves on most of Toobó Nuha's murderers, had come to the resolution of waiting a little time without having recourse to any offensive measures, with a view of ascertaining what Finow's real intentions were.

[634] [726] The fortress being now quite completed, and the guns stationed one at each of the four entrances, of which there were two in front (on the inland side) and one on each of the other two sides; Finow gave orders that a strong party should go forth early in the morning, towards the enemy's fortress, and destroy all the plantations they could come at, but in case of an attack, they should make their retreat as speedily as possible. In the afternoon they returned laden with yams, plantains, &c. but having met with a sudden attack from the enemy, had lost several of their men. They brought intelligence that they had discovered a large field of fine yams nearly full grown, but it was so well defended that they could not with prudence make an attack upon it. Finow resolved to remain quiet the following night, lest the enemy should be lying in wait for him, but the night after that to proceed with a large and strong party to plunder and destroy this planta-

tion. In the mean time a young chief revolted 669 to the enemy, and communicated Finow's 723 intentions with certain additional details, which, however false, served to raise him in the opinion of the enemy, and establish his credit with them. He informed them, over and above the actual truth, that his own father Lioofau was to remain behind in the *colo* (fortress) with a small party to defend it, but that being secretly an enemy to Finow, he would without doubt readily yield up the place to them. Upon the strength of this information they laid their plan accordingly: a large party of warriors, well armed, were to conceal themselves in a thick wood at no great distance from the field of yams, through which wood passed a road leading from Finow's *colo*: they were to lie down on the ground and cover themselves with branches, &c. that as soon as Finow's army had passed, they might be able to cut off their retreat: at the same time another strong party was to advance upon Nëáfoo, and take advantage of the supposed treacherous disposition of Lioofau.

Finow having arranged *his* plan, set off very 669 early in the morning with the far larger part of 726 his men, leaving the remainder under the command 634 of Lioofau to take care of the *colo*. Very fortunately for Finow, before he had advanced

669 far, he met a man who had deserted from the
726 enemy, and who informed him of their knowledge of his expedition, their plan of frustrating
634 his object, as well as the alleged treachery of Lioofau. The king upon hearing this, before he advanced a step farther, ordered Lioofau into immediate confinement, with a strong guard over him. This being done, he proceeded towards the fortress of Felletoa, and taking advantage of the information given him by the deserter, actually hemmed in the very party that would otherwise have done the same
669 to him. These, finding themselves, contrary
726 to their expectations, surrounded by Finow's
727 army, and seeing no other resource than to endeavour to force their way through, made the attempt, and succeeded, after a hard struggle, attended by great slaughter: sixty of the enemy were killed, and fourteen or fifteen of the Hapai people also fell. The enemy now retreated towards the field of yams, to join those who were stationed there for its defence; and Finow, thinking it hazardous to make a farther attack, retired back upon Neafoo, taking with him the sixty dead bodies. The other party of the enemy that had, in the mean while, advanced to Neafoo, finding the place not under the command of Lioofau, suspected some deception, and made a speedy retreat.

669 over his fortune and welfare, and that this god
634 would take care that such pernicious attempts,
on the part of the disgraced chief, should not
565 affect the other chiefs of his army, or if they
687 did, that he should be made acquainted with it
558 by the priest.—The company now dispersed.

After this period Mappa Haano always wore
565 mats as significant of his degraded state. He
558 seldom attended any public ceremonies or as-
292 semblies, because it obliged him to sit along with the common people, and he could not brook, on such occasions, to feel so much his inferiority to other chiefs who formerly were his equals. It must not be supposed that he always wore these mats from pure humility, but rather from fear, for had he appeared without them, Finow might have been angry, and death might have been the consequence.

There being now every day some desertion or
669 another from either army to the opposite one, the
687 king issued orders that every deserter from the
634 enemy should be put to death, the same as if he had been a deserter from himself. This he did the better to avoid all communication between the two contending armies.

For some time past several of Finow's men
669 had been killed in different instances, by three
726 or four of the enemy, under the command of a warrior named Moteitá, a most expert and

daring fellow, who often ventured by night 669
and early in the morning close up to the *colo* 726
of Neafoo to kill any stragglers they could meet with. One morning a party of Finow's men, twelve or fourteen in number, among whom was Mr. Mariner, being out on a little excursion, surprised four of the enemy, who were busily employed digging *ma** in a pit: these they immediately laid hold of, and dragged
out, to take them home prisoners. Imagining 669
they had got Moteitá and his followers who had 727
so often committed depredations upon them, they resolved to make a signal example of their prisoners. A young chief, however, objected to this measure, and proposed that it would be better to decapitate them at once, and take
their heads home. This plan was immediately [412
assented to, but some one observing that they
had no knives with them, another casting his 237]
eyes upon the ground, remarked, there was something that would do as well; and taking up a shell from a neighbouring spot, where some persons had been eating large pearl oysters, he proposed to proceed to work with oyster-shells as substitutes for knives: this was immediately approved of, and the four unfortunate

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[*] Ma is a species of prepared food, consisting of bread- [262
fruit, or plantains, or bananas; buried for a considerable 252]
time under ground, in order to ferment.

oonga several days. For the first two or three 669
days they kept a good look-out, lest they should 724
be surprised by the enemy, and at night slept
on board the canoe; but not finding themselves 669
disturbed by any one, they at length relaxed 726
their vigilance, and slept on shore by large 724
fires; in consequence of which they met with a sad disaster. On the fifth night they had lighted their fires as usual, and the greater part had fallen asleep, when forty or fifty of the enemy's choicest warriors, commanded by Mác-capápa, rushed suddenly upon them. The enemy had heard from some stragglers, that this expedition to Hapai had been obliged to remain at Taoonga; they accordingly put to sea in their small canoes, and arrived at the opposite side of the island after dark: great part of them landed, and being guided by the fires, fell upon those who were reposing in imaginary security, and with their clubs made an end of about eight and twenty: the remainder escaped to the canoe, but not without much difficulty; for some of their companions who had remained to take care of it, being alarmed by the uproar of this sudden attack on shore, had pushed off into deep water; so that those who made their escape from the beach were obliged to swim, and several of them were much wounded by spears thrown at them. Under cover of the

669 darkness they got off to a neighbouring island; 726 and early in the morning, the wind becoming [724] more favourable, they proceeded on their voyage.

In the mean while a man ran away from the enemy's garrison, and brought information of the departure of Maccapapa to attack the Hapai expedition. Finow ordered several large canoes to put to sea immediately, in pursuit of them. This was speedily accomplished, and in the course of a few hours they came up with Maccapapa's canoes, and took ten of them. Many attempted to make their escape to the shore; but being prevented by the large canoes from proceeding to the regular landing-places, they were under the necessity of venturing their necks by climbing up steep rocks that rose almost perpendicularly from the water. In this attempt some fell and were killed. Thus were Finow's men revenged.

A fortnight now elapsed without any material circumstance occurring: almost every day, however, there was some little skirmish with the enemy; but which led to no particular result. 669 At the end of this time, the canoes from 726 Hapai not being yet returned, Finow began 724 to turn his thoughts more seriously than ever towards the large field of yams before spoken 725 of. He made preparations therefore for an at-

tack upon it: hoping that if he did not succeed 669
in procuring some yams, he should at least be 726
able to bring the enemy to a general engagement.
With this view he picked out some of 724
the choicest of his men, about eighty in number, 725
and gave them orders to conceal themselves, during the night, in a thicket close to the enemy's fortress, and on one side of the road. Finow in the mean while proceeded with a party of six hundred towards Felletoa. When he arrived within a quarter of a mile of the fort, it being yet dark, he took up his station in a field of high grass, situated in a valley, which could not be seen by the enemy. He then dispatched a hundred men to dig up the yams, and fifty more, under the command of Hala Api Api, (an adopted son of the late Toobó Nuha,) to the fortress, with a view of enticing the enemy out, and leading them beyond the ambuscade. The enemy, however, kept close within his entrenchments. The fact was, there were not many men in the place, at least not great warriors, the rest having gone to another part of the island to launch a large canoe, for the purpose of bringing it round to the garrison to break up and make small ones of. But as soon as the enemy discovered Hala Api Api, they sent down to their companions at the further side of the island, to inform them of what

669 was going forward. They came as soon as
726 they possibly could, but too late to save the
724 yams. As soon as they arrived at the fort and
saw the field of yams completely despoiled,
725 they became dreadfully enraged, and rushed
out in a body upon Hala Api Api, who immediately
retreated, with a design of drawing them
on beyond the two ambuscades. In this, for
669 the most part, he succeeded to his wishes; for
726 the enemy were so blinded by their rage, and
725 pushed on by desire of revenge, that they did
not reflect on the probability that there was
some stratagem. They continued to follow,
and he to retreat, till they passed the first ambush,
where Finow lay concealed, and were fast
advancing towards the second, when Finow's
men, too eager for conquest, rose up and attacked
them in the rear: the second ambush,
hearing the noise of this attack, immediately
started up, and joining Hala Api Api, a hard
and close fight was kept up for about a quarter
of an hour; when the enemy finding themselves
too strongly opposed, retreated towards the fortress,
in which they took shelter, being pursued
close up to their doors by the Hapai warriors.
669 Having recovered themselves a little from their
726 consternation, they prepared to renew the combat,
and again sallied forth, and commenced a
general engagement with spears and arrows,

which lasted about three quarters of an hour; 669
when they again took shelter within their walls. 726
In the first engagement the enemy had forty
men killed, and Finow only two: in the last at- 669
tack they had only one man killed, and Finow 727
none, though several died afterwards of their
wounds; but this was only an engagement with [726]
arrows and spears, which they are very dexterous
in avoiding: clubs were not used; for the
enemy were upon a higher ground, and it
would not have been prudent to have attacked
them with the club, and risk the loss of their
former advantages; and the enemy were too
much discouraged to venture into the plain for
this purpose. The day was so rainy that no
muskets could be well used. In the last affair [752]
Mr. Mariner received an arrow in his foot,
which passed quite through the broadest part of [413]
it: luckily it was not a bearded arrow; but the wound was, nevertheless, a very bad one; for the weapon being made of a short, splintering wood, it broke in, and consequently he was afterwards disabled for several months; for the Tonga surgeons have not the best instruments in the world, and the pieces of wood they took out from time to time, by no better means than cutting down upon them with sharp shells, or bamboo; which rendered the affair very tedious and painful.

669 The Hapai army being returned to Neafoo,
723 Finow gave orders that no man should venture
out for some time, lest, the vigilance and anger
of the enemy being now so strongly excited,
some should fall a prey to their rashness.

669 About a week afterwards, a warrior, named
724 Havili, requested leave of Finow to permit him
to go in a large canoe, with an armed party, to
the north-west part of the island, to secure a
number of hogs, which the enemy kept there in
a fencing, observing, that it would be but proper
to relish the Vavaoo yams with a little Vavaoo
[701] pork! Havili was a man remarkable for laying
hold of every opportunity of undertaking secret
expeditions by night; and he was thought to
have killed more men in his time than any other
warrior.

The king having granted him leave, he went
669 on board a canoe, with forty stout men, and
724 proceeded towards the place. The enemy,
726 however, had previously sent an additional
force to take care of their hogs, thinking, very
justly, that Finow might be encouraged to turn
his attention to that quarter, from having met
with such success in the field of yams. It happened, one night, that part of this guard, sauntering about upon the beach, perceived a large
canoe coming towards them. They immediately sent word to their companions, and, se-

parating into two parties, concealed themselves 669
on either side of the road leading to the fencing. 724
The canoe having reached the shore, half the 726
men landed with Havili at their head, and proceeded towards the place where the hogs were kept. They had no sooner passed the spot
where the enemy lay concealed, than the latter 669
rushed out, and attacked them in the rear so 727
suddenly, and with such effect, that fifteen 726
were quickly dispatched, the enemy only losing one man, who was killed by Havili. This warrior and his four remaining men effected their escape to their companions in the canoe, and pushed from the shore as quickly as possible. As they were paddling off, the enemy called out to them in derision, " What! you wanted " some pork, did you?—how do you like your " treat?—but stay, here are some fine pigs for " you, ready killed" (alluding to the dead bodies), " why don't you come and take them " away?"—but Havili and his men, sorely discomfited, returned home without making any farther attempt.

669 for her to take alone, with the risk of meeting
586 Moteita and his followers, who often concealed
722 themselves in those woods, and declared his
727 suspicion that she intended to run away. She
immediately fell on her knees, clasped her
hands, and begged and intreated most earnestly,
that he would not prevent her flight from the
dominion of tyranny to the bosom of her rela-
tions, and appealed most pathetically to his own
feelings and affections towards his mother, or
whatever relatives he might have in his own
country, and represented how hard and cruelly
severe it would be for any one to prevent him
flying to them, if it were otherwise in his power.
Being moved by the earnestness of her manner,
and the unfortunate circumstances of her situa-
tion, he raised her up, and promised not to in-
terfere in her escape, nor to divulge the matter
to any one, and gave her full liberty to proceed
whichever way she thought proper.

669 Finow had, for a long time past, entertained
the idea of seizing upon several of the enemy's
726 women, who were in the habit of assembling
226 at a certain part of the inlet, to gather shell-fish,
[723] and now, that his wife had run away, he was
[634] more than ever encouraged to do this, by way
of retaliation upon Toe Oomoo, for the deten-
tion of her. The place where they procured
this sort of fish, was upon a shelf of rocks (about

a foot and a half deep at low water), that ran 669 across the inlet at no great distance from Feletoa. 726 Upon this shelf they were accustomed to fish every day, wading through the water. [226] On these occasions,* several men of their own party had frequently alarmed them by rushing out upon them, pretending to be the enemy, and had repeated this so often, that, at length, they only laughed at the joke, and ridiculed the idea of running away. One evening a party of Finow's men, who had formed themselves for the express purpose of making an attack upon these women, set out in a canoe, and sailed to a part of the island where they could land unobserved, and proceed to the spot where they were fishing, without any danger of discovery, on account of the high bushes that were there in abundance. Being arrived on the spot, at an appointed signal they rushed out upon the women, who immediately set up a hearty laugh, taking them for their old friends, so fond of a joke; but, when they saw two or three knocked down with clubs, they ran away as fast as their strength and the resistance of the water would let them, and the men after them in full pursuit. [727] There were thirty of them, of which number five were killed, and thirteen taken prisoners, the other twelve escaping safe to the opposite shore. In this affair the wife of Finow's son was very

669 726 nearly retaken; she ran so exceedingly swift through the water, knee-deep, and the young chief in pursuit of her exerted himself so much to overtake her, although he was near enough to knock her down with his club, that he actually fell through fatigue. It must, however, be said in favour of the chief, that the weight of his club was a great disadvantage, whereas his lovely fugitive ran without any incumbrance, for, in her endeavour to quicken her pace, her gnatoo (dress) became loose, and fell from her waist; this was the only time that she looked back, from a sense of modesty, to see if it was recoverable, but she was under the necessity of pursuing her flight without it.

669 727 The thirteen prisoners were conducted to Neafoo*, though Finow had given orders that all that should be taken should be killed on the spot. The captors saved their lives, however, partly from motives of humanity, and partly

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[833] * They were obliged, however, by the way, to submit to the will of their captors, for this is always considered a thing of course, and not at all an act of brutality. These transactions are generally conducted in neighbouring woods, and by no means in an open, public, or outrageous way. In short, notions of delicacy, in respect to the female sex, have a much higher influence in the Tonga islands than what would be commonly understood from the accounts of some travellers: among the lower orders, of course, there are abuses every where, but these do not constitute the legal customs of a country.

669 had been detained partly by contrary winds,
724 and partly by the people going to visit their
relatives at different islands.

It has already been mentioned, more than
778 once, that places, which have been consecrated
726 either by express declaration, or by the burial
688 of great chiefs, are forbidden to be the scene of
war, and that it would be highly sacrilegious to
attack an enemy, or spill his blood within their
669 confines. This circumstance, however, occurred
726 a few days after the dispute about the female
prisoners; the particulars of it are as follow:
778 Palavali (brother of Havili), went out one day
688 on a foraging party with six men in two small
canoes, and landed near a consecrated inclosure,
called Guacao, one of the most fertile places in
the whole island. Here they met with four of
the enemy, who, perceiving their inferiority,
made an endeavour to get into the consecrated
place, where they would have been perfectly
safe: Palavali, however, seeing their intention,
got between them and the fencing, when one of
the enemy made a bold push to pass his antagonist,
and scramble over the reed-work, and
had actually got one leg over, when Palavali
struck him a furious blow on the head, and
felled him dead within the place; seeing now
what he had done, he was struck with fear, and
ran away to the canoes, followed by his men,

aloud to the god that he would be pleased to accept of this sacrifice as an atonement for the heinous sacrilege committed, and that punishment might accordingly be withheld from the people. When this had been done before all the consecrated houses in the fortress, the body was given up to its relations, to be buried in the usual manner. 669 688 782 783

About four or five days after the above horrible immolation, this same Palavali was killed in a skirmish with the enemy. He went out again on a foraging excursion with about 30 or 40 men, not professed warriors, but men on whose courage and honour no reliance could be placed. They met with a smaller body of the enemy, but who were all staunch fighting men; in a very short time Palavali's men turned about to run away; he vainly endeavoured to rally them, and facing the enemy again to set them the example, he received several wounds and fell. At this moment his men also faced about, and seeing the perilous situation of their chief, became animated with courage, and drove the enemy a few paces back, whilst two or three picked him up and carried him to the fortress. When they arrived they proceeded to take out four spears which had pierced him, but he desired them to desist from so useless a task, as he was certain the gods had decreed his 669 726 [784] [761]

669 death as a punishment for his late offence. This
726 too was the general opinion of the people, and
was the subject of their conversation for a long
784 time afterwards, contributing to spread a con-
761 siderable gloom throughout the garrison. Palavali died about half an hour after he was brought home.

669 Finow already began to grow tired of the
723 [728] war: it was a kind of conflict not suited to his
[634] genius, he loved rather a few hard fought en-
[726] gagements and a speedy conquest. The enemy shewed no disposition to come forth from their
[712] strong hold and attack him; and he had found by experience, that even the guns produced no sensible effect upon their fortification, situated upon an eminence, and defended by walls of
669 clay*. He heartily wished for a peace, but he
634 did not choose that his wish should be known, lest it should be attributed to fear or any other
728 unworthy motive; in short, he wanted to bring about a peace, without being thought to *wish* for it; and the difficulty was to accomplish this,

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[727] * Mr. Mariner could easily have devised a method to set the enemy's fortress on fire; but he considered Toe Oomoo's cause quite as just as that of Finow, and although the latter was his friend and benefactor, yet he had more than half assisted in the assassination of a man of admirable character (Toobo Nuha) who was also Mr. Mariner's friend; besides, he did not choose to be the means of dealing out destruction upon a number of innocent women and children.

have some sinister intent: such precaution was 133
by no means unnecessary, as this species of 727
treachery, when it can be performed secretly, 518
is not unusual, particularly among great warriors, when they have some petty interest to
consult. This, however, is not to be considered [177]
the natural disposition of the Tonga people, but a practice which, along with that of
war, they have learned from the natives of the
Fiji islands, where a man seldom goes out, even
perhaps with his greatest friend, without being
armed, and cautiously upon his guard. Mr.
Mariner had, therefore, provided himself with
a pistol, as a defence against any violent measures on the part of his companion. On their
return down the mountain, he told his companion that he might have shot him dead, and
nobody would have been the wiser, to which
the man replied, "I see you are *loto boto* *, like
"the Fiji people;" meaning that he possessed
policy and caution against treachery; and
added, "as I am unarmed, it is a proof that *I*
"had no ill design, and therefore did not suspect any in you."

Whilst on this island, Mr. Mariner went to 727
see the grave of an Englishman, John Norton,
belonging to the boat of the Bounty, Captain
Bligh, whose crew had mutinied. He was led [175]
[726]

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* Of a wise mind.

2r Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

727 to visit this spot from a motive of curiosity,
excited by the account which the natives had
175 given him of the death of this man. Lest,
726 however, the reader may have forgotten this
175 particular circumstance in the narrative of
Captain Bligh, we shall first give the account
726 as related by this gentleman. Having put into this island for supplies, and after having remained a few days, he discovered that the natives had a design against him; in consequence of which he made the best of his way with his men to the boat: the narrative then proceeds in the following words:

"When I came to the boat, and was seeing the people embark, Nageete wanted me to stay to speak to Eefow; but I found he was encouraging them to the attack, and I determined, had it then begun, to have killed him for his treacherous behaviour. I ordered the carpenter not to quit me until the other people were in the boat. Nageete, finding I would not stay, loosed himself from my hold, and went off, and we all got into the boat, except one man, who, while I was getting on board, quitted it, and ran up the beach to cast the stern-fast off, notwithstanding the master and others calling him to return, while they were hauling me out of the water.

"I was no sooner in the boat than the attack

began by about two hundred men; the unfor- 175
tunate poor man, who had run up the beach, 176
was knocked down, and the stones flew like a shower of shot. Many Indians got hold of the stern rope, and were near hauling us on shore, and would certainly have done it, if I had not had a knife in my pocket, with which I cut the rope. We then hauled off to the grapnel, every one being more or less hurt. At this time I saw five of the natives about the poor man they had killed, and two of them were beating him about the head with stones in their hands.

“We had no time to reflect, before, to my surprise, they filled their canoes with stones, and twelve men came off after us to renew the attack, which they did so effectually as nearly to disable all of us. Our grapnel was foul, but Providence here assisted us; the fluke broke, and we got to our oars and pulled to sea. They, however, could paddle round us, so that we were obliged to sustain the attack without being able to return it, except with such stones as lodged in the boat, and in this I found we were very inferior to them. We could not close, because our boat was lumbered and heavy, and that they knew very well: I therefore adopted the expedient of throwing overboard some clothes, which they lost time in picking

175 up; and, as it was now almost dark, they gave
726 over the attack, and returned towards the shore, leaving us to reflect on our unhappy situation.

"The poor man I lost was John Norton: this was his second voyage with me as quartermaster, and his worthy character made me lament his loss very much. He has left an aged parent, I am told, whom he supported."

The account the natives gave was to the following purport. Part of Captain Bligh's crew had been on shore to procure water, and had all returned into their boat, except one man who was making the best of his way after his companions, with an axe in his hand; some of the natives, perceiving the axe, resolved to possess themselves of it, particularly one of them, who was a carpenter; they accordingly pursued him, and this carpenter, throwing a stone at him, knocked him down, and, coming up, beat him on the head with stones till he was dead. They then stripped the body, and dragged it up the country towards a malai, where they left it exposed two or three days,
727 and afterwards buried it near the spot. They said very little about a general attack, merely
[175] stating, that some of the natives threw stones
[726] at Captain Bligh's boat; and Mr. Mariner, at
[824] that time, not having read the narrative, did

not enquire into such particulars as he other- 727
wise would have done: but the most wonderful 824
part of the story is, that the whole track of
ground through which the body was dragged [175]
had ever since been destitute of grass, as well [726]
as the spot on which it lay for two or three days. It was this circumstance, principally, that engaged Mr. Mariner to visit the place, and there, indeed, he found the bare track of ground from the beach to near the place where they say he was buried; nor has it much the appearance of a beaten path, besides that it leads to and from places, where there are but few inhabitants: at the termination of this track there is a bare place, lying transversely, about the length and breadth of a man.

However trivial such relations may appear 771
in themselves, they are worth mentioning, with 824
a view to contrast them with the accounts given by credible travellers, that they may tend to prove how far the statements of the natives may be depended on; besides which, in some instances, as in the present, they shew what kind of superstitions they are subject to (for another instance of this kind, see the affair of the missionaries, p. 61). As to the bare track, although it may not now have much the appearance of a beaten path, owing to the grass having grown irregularly on either side, yet there

128 Tonga, we shall give an account of these transactions in the order in which they happened, and conclude with the ceremony of pardon, granted by Finow to Toobo Malohi and his followers.

The reader will recollect, perfectly well, the 669 fortress of Nioocalofa, on the island of Tonga, 727 which Finow besieged with the four carronades, 649 and afterwards burnt to the ground, with great [726] slaughter of the garrison. Toobo Malohi was chief of this fortress at the time; and in consequence of Finow's vigorous attack, he left it, with such of his followers as could save themselves, and fled up the country, to seek refuge [167] in some other fortress. This chief had all along been unfortunate: at the time of the [177] great revolution of Tonga, and the early success of Finow, he had fled to the Fiji islands with his followers, and had resided there some time; [166] gaining experience in the art of war. On his return to Tonga, he built the fortress of Nioocalofa; from which he was afterwards driven by Finow, as just related: he next took refuge in some other fortress; from which, owing to the jealousy of the chief, or some other cause, he was obliged to depart, and seek shelter in a third; from whence he was driven by some untoward circumstance; and thus he became, in fact, quite a refugee; nobody being willing to receive him in a sincere and friendly way: till

at length, however, he considered himself to 669
have found a permanent asylum in the fortress 727
of Hihifo, with Teoo Cava, the chief who had 643
made Finow a present of the extraordinary well [1166]
trained bird. Teoo Cava received him and his
followers in a very cordial manner, considering [701]
them a great acquisition to his strength; for they had the reputation of being all great warriors, well schooled in the military practices of Fiji.

Teoo Cava, at length finding that no enemy 669
thought proper to attack him, resolved to lay 726
siege to the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo: he was successful in his attack, and took it with
an inconsiderable loss of men. This being 565
done, he determined, contrary to the advice of 669
his matabooles, to garrison both fortresses. 723
The reason the matabooles gave for the impolicy of this conduct, was the readiness with which the enemy made their retreat; which they thought argued their intentions of returning speedily, with fresh strength. Ambition, and desire of larger possessions, blinding him, however, to his own proper interests, he neglected sage counsel; and, dividing his forces, reserved the choicest half for his own personal safety in the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo, and commissioned the rest to defend Hihifo. He had with him Toobo Malohi and his 669
726

669 726 [411] warriors. In the course of the following night, the enemy came down again, and made a desperate attack upon them: having resolved to burn the place to the ground, they had appointed four hundred men to effect their purpose, each of whom was armed with a spear, and a lighted torch fixed at about a foot from the point of it. At a signal every man threw his flaming weapon at the fencing, or into the garrison, and, by the aid of this new invention, the place was set fire to, in several points at once. The besieged, with the view of rendering themselves more secure, had removed all the draw-bridges over the dry ditch round the fencing, except one; there was no ready means of escape, therefore, from the conflagration, which soon spread far and wide, except by one narrow path: hundreds consequently were compelled to leap into the ditch, the sides of which were too steep to climb. Among these was Teoo Cava, who, with several other great chiefs and warriors, managed to get out, by climbing up the backs of those whose fidelity prompted them to lend their superiors this friendly assistance at the utmost peril of their own lives. Teoo Cava, having thus got out of the ditch, was making the best of his way unarmed to Hihifo, when he was met by a native of Fiji, belonging to the enemy's party, who

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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gave him the watch-word, which he was unable 669
to answer; instantly the Fiji warrior struck 726
him so violent a blow on the head with his club, that he buried it in his brains: the club had got so locked into the broken skull, that he could not immediately withdraw it; and he probably would have left it there, but discovering what a great chief he had killed, his club from that moment became exceedingly valuable to him; the pledge as it were of future great successes, as long as he kept it in his possession: the triumph of his feelings, therefore, prevented him from seeing or hearing another man, who was fast approaching; and whilst he was in the act of disengaging his club, his own brains were knocked out, and his speculations as suddenly destroyed, by one of Teoo Cava's men, whose swiftness of foot brought him just in time to revenge his fallen chief, by laying his enemy prostrate by his side: but dangers were thickening round him, and he was compelled to leave the body of Teoo Cava on the field, and secure his own existence by a speedy flight to Hihifo; where all who succeeded
in making their escape quickly arrived. The 669
body of Teoo Cava was soon found by the 727
enemy; it was conveyed to their fortress, cut [266]
to pieces, and (must it again be said!) dressed for food.

Among the garrison of Hihifo there was a

669 727 chief named Ata; he was not an old man, but he had a great reputation for political wisdom, and military skill. He was a native of the island, but at the time of the revolution his friends and acquaintance had all gone over to the Hapai islands for peace and safety. He however resolved to remain for the sake of his oldest and most sincere friend, Teoo Cava, and to assist and stand by him to the last; (for Ata was endowed also with some of the best qualities of the human heart). As Teoo Cava was now no more, Ata, conscious of his skill in war, and the confidence which all the men placed in him, proposed to take upon himself the command of the garrison; and his offers were gladly accepted. 669 726 The other garrisons of the island soon hearing of the death of Teoo Cava, and the great losses he had sustained, several of them entered into league against Hihifo, and shortly commenced a siege, which lasted fourteen days; but at length, quarrelling among themselves, and finding the besieged hold out so manfully, and withal being struck with awful astonishment, at the extraordinary bravery of Maccapapa*, who was said to be invincible by the immediate protection of the gods;—they raised the siege, and each party

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[727 166] * It will be recollected that Maccapapa was formerly in the service of Toe Oomoo; but at the peace he left Vavaoo, apprehensive that Finow might play him some treachery.

repaired as quickly as possible to its own fortress, 669
lest it should be taken possession of by 726
some enemy. During the siege, all the women
made themselves remarkable by their resolute
assistance in the defence of the place; lest, for
want of men, it should be taken by the enemy.
The widows of Teoo Cava*, however, were so [768]
afflicted at his loss, that many of them, it is [762]
said, strangled themselves†.

At this time, Toobo Malohi sent word to his 669
727

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* Speaking of Teoo Cava calls to mind a circumstance, 728
mentioned in the second missionary voyage, respecting Eliza 643
Mosey and a black woman, both belonging to the American
ship Duke of Portland, Captain Lovat Melon; the date is [727]
not mentioned. Through the treachery of Teoo Cava, (who from mistake of pronunciation they call Ducava,) the crew were all murdered, excepting three or four persons, among whom were Eliza Mosey, and the black woman. The latter was still at the Hapai islands when Mr. Mariner left; she latterly became insane, but lived as a sort of domestic, (being harmless,) with a certain female chief, who treated her kindly. Eliza Mosey became one of the wives of Teoo Cava, who was much envied by the other chiefs on that account, she being a white woman. She made her escape afterwards, in the Union of New York, and arrived at Port Jackson, where she remained. Mr. Mariner has since accidentally heard from a woman who had been at Port Jackson, that Eliza Mosey returned afterwards to Touga, with a ship that went for the purpose of laying in a cargo of pork, but which was shortly afterwards wrecked among the Fiji islands.

† Mr. Mariner is not quite certain whether this report be correct: for it is an undoubted fact, that suicide is exceedingly rare among them.

669 consultation this was granted; and eleven ca-
noes, manned with the choicest warriors, pad-
dled towards a small island at a little distance,
669 on which the Hapai people had landed. As it
was a moonlight night, the enemy saw them, and
726 concealed themselves behind certain bushes at
a small distance from the beech, where they
supposed Finow's men would land: they were
right in their conjecture, and, as soon as Finow's
warriors were arrived, the enemy rushed upon
them with their usual yell, and occasioned much
disorder and alarm, but soon rallying, they
pressed on them in return so closely and bravely,
that they were obliged to retreat towards the
place where their canoe lay; and here a most
669 severe conflict ensued. Unfortunately, in hurry-
ing on shore from the canoes, Mr. Mariner's
726 ammunition got wet, which rendered his musket
727 of little use, hence he was obliged to employ
only a bow and arrows. The enemy, finding
themselves so well matched, and thinking they
might soon be attacked by forces from the main
land (Vavaoo), they embarked as speedily as
they could; but, in doing which, they lost ten
or twelve men. Mr. Mariner again tried to use
his musket, and, after repeated trials, succeeded
in shooting the two men that steered (it being a
double canoe), after which he returned with his
own party to their canoes, leaving nineteen of

the enemy dead on the field, besides the two 669
killed in the canoe: their own loss were four, 727
killed on the spot, and three others, who died
afterwards of their wounds. The enemy were [726]
about sixty in number; themselves about fifty.
In this affair Mr. Mariner unfortunately received a violent blow on the knee by a stone from a sling, which lamed him for a considerable length of time. It appeared from the ac- [723]
count of a boy, who was wounded and taken prisoner, that the enemy intended to proceed as secretly as possible to the westward of Vavaoo, and, under cover of the night, to make incursions on shore, and do all the mischief in their power.

For the space of about two months after this 727
affair, no circumstance worthy of note took place: no other attack from the people of Hapai was attempted, and all seemed peaceable and quiet. At the end of this period, however, there happened a circumstance, the most fortunate of all to Mr. Mariner, viz. that of his escape. In this time of peace, when he had nothing in which to employ himself, but objects of recreation and amusement, sometimes with Finow, or other chiefs, and sometimes by himself, he would frequently go out for two or three days together, among the neighbouring small islands, on a fishing excursion: as he was

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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114 vented him from going on shore so often, or so far, as he otherwise might have done. He was
171 curious to discover what opinion they had of
[829] the natives of Tonga, and found, uniformly, that they considered the latter to be a very treacherous race; whilst these, as already related, accuse the Fiji people of possessing the same bad character; but, in all probability, there is not much difference between them in
[726] this respect. From all that he has seen, and all that he has heard, however, he is disposed to be-
[727] lieve that the Fiji people fight with more fury and animosity than the Tonga people, but that the latter, where they have been seriously injured, harbour sentiments of revenge for a longer time. Mr. Mariner witnessed no instance
171
266 of cannibalism among them, but they made no scruple to acknowledge that such instances were very frequent, and Cow Mooala's account of the feast of Chichia, where two hundred human bodies were served up, was confirmed by the report of several of the natives of Pau, who were not, indeed, present, but who spoke of it with much indifference, as having heard it often from those who were present, and as being a thing so likely, that there was no reason to doubt it. He had it also confirmed by a native of Tonga, resident at Pau, who acted as his interpreter, and

disinterestedness and generosity in the person 577
of Hala A'pi A'pi, in his liberal conduct towards 578
his friend Talo (see vol. ii. p. 7). He said after- 526
wards that he knew very well that Talo was no 576
coward, but that a little petulance or disappointed vanity had occasioned him to make the first false step, of which he was afterwards so ashamed, and was so confused that he had not the proper use of his judgment; and that he (Hala A'pi A'pi), knowing what must be the wounded state of his feelings, pitied his situation; and immediately sought a reconciliation.
Hala A'pi A'pi indeed, in the fiery wildness of 577
his disposition, often committed excesses; but [157]
his general character rendered him universally beloved. He was generous perhaps in the extreme; he was endowed with a certain share of wisdom: he knew well what was right, and, what is still better, he practised it. (See his character, vol. ii. p. 50.) We have given here but two glowing instances of liberal sentiment; but we must reflect that they were universally admired: accordingly, the principle on which they were admired must of course be universally felt; and it would be strange indeed, if the fruits of such sentiments were shewn only in a few solitary instances. The attentive reader will have discovered others; but if it be necessary to give another, we beg to cite one of a
nature different from either of the above. The [726] [669]

577 instance alluded to (vol. i. p. 107.) is where Mr.
726 Mariner, with four Indian warriors, was flying
669 from a large party of the enemy, when on a
sudden he fell into a deep hole: his fate now seemed certain, the enemy would have gloried in killing him, for they had not forgotten the guns; but his four faithful companions exclaimed, "Let us stop for the Papalangi!" Three defended the ground with their clubs, while one helped him out, and one of the three was killed in that act of defence. These four men might have run off without risking their lives, but they were possessed of better sentiments:—"Let us stop for the Papalangi!"—they did stop, and they saved him.

577 Their high admiration of what is generous
and liberal in sentiment and conduct, is very
well borne out by many of their most established
577 customs and practices. The general conduct
565 of chiefs and others towards one another seems
431 to turn upon this principle of liberality. If one
chief sees something in the possession of another which he has a strong desire to have, he has only to ask him for it, and in all probability
[651] it is readily and liberally given. The very tri-
butes which the chiefs receive from inferiors come as much as possible in the form of presents*.

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* We must not deny but what these presents are frequently occasioned by fear, as may be discovered by several instances mentioned in the first volume; but still they are not de-

186 excitement and growth of this passion are not
634 very frequent; nevertheless, in the history of
the war at Vavaoo, we shall discover proofs of
[721] the existence of this noble sentiment, as well as
[669] in the life of Toobó Nuha, and in the death of
the late king, who lamented that he left the
country in a critical situation. The present
king, and his uncle Finow Fiji, are, no doubt,
patriots in the best sense of the word.

Honour is another principle upon which we
577 must speak; but, in regard to which, it is difficult
to give the just character of the Tonga
people. That they are honourable, in many
respects, there can be no doubt; and that, in
other respects, they do things which are, seemingly,
at least, very dishonourable, there can be
577 as little question. It was agreeable to every
634 generous and honourable sentiment in Teoo
[669] Cava's men, to help him out of the ditch at the
[726] peril of their own lives; or in Mr. Mariner's
four companions, to save him at the same risk.
[669] It was honourable in the late king, who was a
very passionate man, and expected to be obeyed,
to receive in good part, and readily to excuse,
Mr. Mariner's refusal, on many occasions, to
conform to orders that were not consistent with
[669] his principles. It was honourable in the Vavaoo
people to have so much respect for the memory
of their late chief, Toobó Nuha, as to resent his

114 Although he was at some pains to discover what had preceded his own
669 coming, and records with considerable detail and picturesqueness the events
of which he was himself an eye-witness—or rather Martin does from the
634 material he obtained from Mariner—yet he presents the whole matter in
wrong perspective. This he does through regarding Finau as the king, and
all who fought against him as opposing lawful authority. As a matter of
fact Finau is to be regarded as the rebel, to whose ambition much of the
643 misery of the time is due. In most of the accounts the prestige of the Tui
Tonga, which traditionally should have been paramount, falls into the background. The power of the Sacred King, indeed, was hastening to its fall.
Bishop Blanc (4, Chap. VII) furnishes a corrective from the side of the
Tui Tonga.

Mumui, the Tui Kanokupolu, died in 1797, leaving a daughter, Tupou
175 Moheofo, and a son Tukuaho, both claimants to their father's position. (In
643 12, p. 182, I have misplaced Tupou Moheofo.) Tukuaho was at the time
on the island of Eua, and the lady made good use of her rival's absence
from the seat of government, and had herself installed as Tui Kanokupolu.
Tukuaho, coming from Eua, ejected her, and became king himself.

The Tui Kanokupolu is head of the Haa Ngata (Tribe of Ngata).
[619] Finau, or Ulukalala, is head of the Haa Ngata Tupu, a junior branch of
[634] the same tribe. Finau espoused the cause of Tupou Moheofo, but Tukuaho
retained his kingship. Tukuaho's rule was harsh and tyrannical, and in
175 1799 he was assassinated by Tupou Niua, with the connivance of Finau,
669 and civil war blazed forth. Vason was an eye-witness of the fighting of
the next few months, and his account furnishes an excellent framework into
[114] which to fit native traditions. The records of Vason and of the London
Missionary Society's missionaries, who came to Tonga on the ship *Duff*,
have been followed by Miss Farmer (19).

175 Tongan tradition records two great battles, both of which are recounted
by Vason (37, pp. 158-191). The first of these, the battle of the Toafa
669 (Sea Flats) was fought in 1799. Hihifo, led by the chiefs of the Haangata,
726 Ata, Vahai, Ahomee and Vaea, strove to avenge their fallen head, Tukuaho.
634 In the earlier stages of the fighting they gained some successes against Finau
and his party. Hahake, the eastern district of Tongatabu, mainly supported
Finau, and very soon reinforcements were brought from Haapai and Vavau.
Finau's own chief seat of authority was Vavau. In these early successes
of the Hihifo party, Mulikihaamea, who, Vason relates, contrary to the
[643] popular expectation joined Finau, was killed. I have assumed, though with
diffidence, that this Mulikihaamea is the Tui Kanokupolu mentioned in the
lists of these kings. If that be so, he seems not to have been formally installed, and his making common cause with Finau would perhaps be in an

effort to make effective a claim not too well grounded in right. He was 175
slain within a few weeks of the outbreak of hostlities. 669

In the battle of Toafa, Finau won a decisive victory over the forces 726
of Hihifo. The chiefs Ata, Vahai, Vaea were not only defeated, but
wounded also. Tradition records their shame. It is said that they lay 634
wounded together, and talked about the war. "I've got a new name," said 175
Ata. 669

"What is it?" inquired his partners in distress. "Tofua i Pangai" (All 727
in Pangai have fallen) he replied. 553

Vahai then said that he, too, had a new name, Langoia i Pangai (Rejected, neglected, in Pangai); and Vaea completed the mournful trio by saying that his name was Kuea i Pangai (Shamed in Pangai).

Although none of the European chroniclers mentioned it, native tradi- 175
tion relates that Finau marked his victory by setting up a white pig as king 669
in Tongatabu, appointing one of his partisans, Veahahake, as the pig's 727
representative in the actual business of government.

But Finau won no permanent success in Tongatabu. It was not long 669
before Vahai led an army through the island from west to east, sweeping 726
the districts that had supported Finau, though Finau was evidently not present himself. A great heap of slain on the eastern extremity of Tongatabu was Vahai's trophy to this victory. It is said that he bade his men continue the massacre till the heap of bodies was so high that Eua could be seen from its summit (37, p. 187). This battle is called the Tau Fakalelemoa (Battle of chasing fowls) on account of the helpless flight of the defeated, or the Tau Fakalangovaka (Battle avenging defeat) as it was held to avenge the defeat of Toafa.

In this battle Vahai employed a stratagem to enable his men to reach their enemy's territory without their hostile intent being known. He pretended that he was going on a visit with gifts to his relative Nuku, a chief of Hahake, whom he said was sick. The warriors wrapped their arms up so that they appeared to be bundles of mats and cloth. When they came to a suitable place, at Haatouli, the arms were uncovered and distributed. At Haatouli a brave resistance was made by a man who had once been a great warrior, but who was now blind. He stood at the roadside with his daughter, who, equally courageous with her father, acted as eyes for him. As the enemy approached she told him when to strike. His wrath seems especially to have been directed against Ahomee, and as that chief came up, and the daughter told him who it was, he hurled his spear, at the same time shouting a punning insult on his name, calling him Ahoafi (Aho-fire) (it is insulting to call a man's eyes fire). Another woman signalized herself on this bloody day, a daughter of Ahomee, who wrapped cloth about her body and took part with the courage of a man, and was

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

669 not known to be a woman till she uncovered her breasts after the fighting.
Ata is said to have defeated Finau at some time before the battle Fakalelemoa,
726 on the sea flats near Foui. In this fight Finau was opposed by
the warrior Vikena of Utulau, who had previously been a follower of
669 Finau. Finau made the remark to Vikena, while they were in Haapai or
726 Vavau, "The unsatisfactory part of my going to Tonga to fight is that
there is nobody there to stand up to me." Vikena replied that he would
634 go to Tonga and stand up to him. So Vikena came and warned the Hihifo chiefs to get ready, for Finau was coming. When Finau arrived a battle was fought inland, and Finau's force broke and fled, Vikena pursuing Finau.

When Vikena came within spear's reach of Finau he called him to stand and turn. Finau turned, and Vikena, sitting down, said, "Go alive; I'll go and die." The god Fonokitangata of Utulau had told Vikena that he would deliver Finau into his hand, and that if he did not kill him he himself must die. Vikena told Finau that he did not forget his share in his glory and kindness. So, letting Finau go, he went and died, and is said to be buried in Hihifo.

Finau it seems, soon saw that his hope of winning permanent power in Tongatabu was small, and he instituted his practice of yearly raids, destroying crops and harassing the country, in which Mariner participated.

The greatest warrior, and most effectively powerful chief, at this time
669 in Tongatabu was Vahai, who lived in Polonga with Vaea, Valu, Takai, and
701 Fae. After the death of Vahai they disbanded. Takai and Fae fortified
Pea. Even before the death of Vahai this fortification had been commenced.
669 Pea had previously served Takai as a fowl run, because there was much
701 of the plant *ate* there, which served as fowl feed. Vahai is called the *hau*,
712 king, not because he was Tui Kanokupolu, but because he was the greatest
warrior and leader. When he became weak, and it was clear that he would
[192] die, he sent for Takai and gave him his mana, by rubbing a piece of the
[763] stem of the plantain tree between his hands, and then putting it on the
[778] hands of Takai, at the same time telling him to receive his *hau* (lordship).
When Vahai's death was reported Takai and Fae were busy fortifying Pea. They completed their fortifications before they went to the funeral ceremonies. After the burial of Vahai, Vaea fortified Houma, and Valu fortified Utulau.

For some years after the death of Tukuaho there was no effective king
643 in Tonga. The Tui Tonga had not sufficient power left to control the
[613] situation. The chiefs of the Haa Ngata, with whom was the choice, within
fairly strict limits, and installation of the Tui Kanokupolu, attempted to meet the position by installing an outsider, Maafuolimuloa, who belonged to the Haa Havea and not to the Haa Ngata. The reason of this is said

22

Liku Tonga, liku tapu,	Tonga's seashore, sacred seashore, 533
Laulea moe ngalu.	Laulea and breakers. 534

23

Fuhi fa malama 'i Ana Manu,	Cluster of bright hala in Anamanu,
Ngangana he toli 'e he peau.	Fallen, plucked off by the waves.
Fuhi fa malama 'i Mataloko,	Cluster of bright hala in Mataloko,
Ufia-taufia 'e he ngongo.	[Fallen] swallowed down by the tern.
Fuhi fa malama 'i Keitahi,	Cluster of bright hala in Keitahi,
Ngangana he toli 'e he matangi.	Fallen, plucked off by the wind.

24

Fine tangi he mo'unga ko Kao,	Women weeping on the mountain Kao,
Tangi hono fie hifo ki lalo,	Weeping in her longing to descend,
Ka kuo te hola hifo pe kita,	But I myself fleeing have descended,
Kae tuku ke feao mo Lofia.	And leaving her to company with Lofia.

No. 19 is the farewell of warriors of Vavau as they were leaving to fight in the war at Pea, about the middle of the nineteenth century. [726]

25

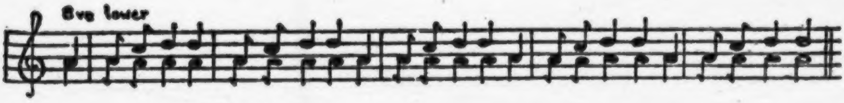
Sia ko Kafoa, 'Alo'i-talau,	Hill of Kafoa, Aloitalau,
Ko eku tatau eni kau 'alu.	This my parting is, I shall go.
Ka 'ilonga ha 'ikai teu ha'u,	And if perchance I come not again,
Kuo kelekele aki Tongatabu.	Mingled is my dust with Tongatabu.

26

Ko Eua e moe toafa,	Eua and its grassy downs,
Moe esi 'o Koloa-ki-maha.	And mound of Koloakimaha.

27

Fine tangi loi 'i Utu-malama,	Woman of false tears in Utumalama,
Hukena he tokelau lafalafa.	Carried away by the wind from the north.



28

Maile mio	Twisting *maile,*
Pua 'i le vao,	*Pua* in the forest,
Taunga opeope,	Hanging drooping,
Toli 'a fafine.	Plucked by the women.

29

Ta e to'a, tu'u e to'a,	Strike the champion, stand the champion,
'Ilonga pe vale pea hola.	Whoe'er is unskilled let him flee.

30

Ta e tui, ta e toa,	Strike the piercer, strike the smiter,
Fei mo tau kei katoa.	Hasten to battle still complete.

539
669
54. The taunt, if it be a taunt, may refer to a number of things. Perhaps Kuli and his daughter are indicated. Some women would be killed in the ordinary course of fighting, and especially when, as is indicated, an ambush was rushed from all sides. Grammatically it is not clear whether "our" refers to the forces of Hihifo or those of Finau.

539
669
634
726
55. The recurrence of the idea of fleeing in various parts of the poem clearly refers to Finau's retreats after battle in Tongatabu. If the Teukava mentioned by Mariner is the author, then the events referred to must all have happened before Mariner left the group. Mariner gives the picture of Finau making raids on Tongatabu, and then retiring northwards to Haapai and Vavau. Although Finau's operations were directed mainly against western Tongatabu, and although Vahai's avenging of the defeat of Taofa consisted in sweeping through eastern Tongatabu (a district, which if not actively supporting Finau was at any rate more lukewarm in its opposition to him than was the west), yet it is unlikely that Finau would receive wholehearted support from any district of Tongatabu. Finau, for all his courage and ability, must be regarded as an adventurer, whose victories, not being directed to the achievement of any clearcut purpose, were powerless to do anything but increase the sum total of human unhappiness.

Pages 94-96. Poem of Tukuaho (a variant)

539
669
[643]
1. This reading gives a plainer sense than that in the foregoing rendering. The blind king is represented as standing in with the chiefs of Hihifo in their efforts to vindicate the rights of the Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship. The "king's chiefs" are the Tui Tonga and his chiefs, the party of Hahake. Hahake should be considered hostile to Hihifo rather than friendly to Finau.

[643]
2. Perhaps there was a rumor, that Tupou Malohi, for example, intended withdrawing to Fiji.

[103]
3. Haameneuli is now known in Tonga as the name of a locality forming part of the modern village of Niutoua, in the extreme east of Tongatabu. Smith has suggested, with probability, that the name was connected with Manahune (33, pp. 149-153).

[551]
[644]
4. Naaika, Lavaka, Makaui are names of *matapule*. There is a Makaui of Maofanga, and another of Houma. Probably Makaui is connected with the Haatakalaua. Lavaka is not the chief, as is well known today. I have learned nothing about Tuki. (His name is indistinctly written in the manuscript from which I took my copy, and might equally well be read Taki; Tuki, however, suits the verse.) It is reasonable to surmise that all four are names of *matapule* associated with the chiefs of Hahake; they have shaken their hands over the soil of the blind king, that is, have indicaed that they will have nothing more to do with him, because of his throwing in his lot with the party of Hihifo.

5. No name is indicated of the one who went to Fiji; possibly it was Tupou Malohi. Mariner relates (28, vol. 1, p. 78) the arrival of a great Tongan chief Tuihalafatai from Fiji, and of his exploits in that country. If the accepted chronology be correct this Tuihalafatai cannot have been the Tui Kanokupolu of that name.

6. The expression *hau hopo* is said to mean "during a time when peace and pleasure ruled." It is suggested that *hopo* indicates literally the springing about in games and dances.

7. The pronoun *ta* is the first person dual, inclusive pronoun, thou, and indicates Hihifo and I.

8. Kaloafu and Teuhie are two well-known rocks on the coast of Hihifo (21, p. 98).

9. I have found nothing about the names Vatangia and Vetelali. They are badly written in the original, and may be Satangia and Selelali.

[825]
[634]
10. "Pig brought in a boat" is the hostile army from overseas, with the implication of the pig that was made king. Mariner says nothing of this insulting installation of a pig king by Finau, which must have occurred some years before Mariner's arrival, but would be likely to be a theme of conversation during his time. It is quite possible that Finau did not instal such a king, but that the practice, which we see in these compositions of referring to him and his armies from Haapai and Vavau as the pig that drinks water, and the pig that comes in a boat, gave rise in after years to the story that he made a pig king.

11. The line beginning "The great house" refers to the murder of Tukuaho.

539 Pages 103-104. The environs of Nukualofa

823 [538] 1. This poem is assigned, but apparently incorrectly, to Falepapalangi, the bard of Hihifo, who is represented by a number of pieces in this collection. The seventeenth and eighteenth lines and the closing portion of the poem indicate that the composer was a man of Vavau. These lines may be ironical, or meant to indicate that he has become accustomed to the praise of Vavau in his work and has developed a fondness for that part of the group. It is much more probable that the lines about Vavau are to be taken literally. The piece may have been composed by Falepapalangi's great rival Mamaeaepoto.

2. Reckoning from Tonga the "wind from the back of Koloa" would be about northeast.

[103] 3. Tongataeapa (Tonga without respect) is a portion of the modern town of Nukualofa, where a number of chiefs lived. The name indicates that the locality was so chiefly that it paid respect to no other locality, but had respect paid to it.

[103] 4. Onemalama was a bathing-place of the chiefs in Tongataeapa; it is now filled up.

5. There is a *ngingie uta,* land *ngingie,* and a *ngingie tahi,* sea, or seashore, *ngingie.*

6. Veitata, a pool.

7. Names of localities or compounds.

8. Veimusieua; a pool in Nukualofa, near the home of the chief Ata.

9. This is not a compound, but a clump of *kahikahi,* a fern-like plant.

10. The meaning of this line not clear. A slight emendation, changing *hono* to *hoto,* would give the meaning "my mind has been hidden," which would be in keeping with other lines, indicating the poet's ignorance of some of the localities.

[764] 11. Malaealoa, in the modern Nukualofa, is a *malae* (burial ground) belonging to the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui and his family.

[764] 12. Faletuipapai is a burial ground belonging to the Tui Kanokupolu Aleamotua and his family. It is alongside Malaealoa, and the two burial grounds are now joined in one.

539 13. Pulepulekai is the site of the present British Residency and Consulate. There is a cape of the same name in Vavau.

823 103 [368] 14. Tupouveiongo, or simply Veiongo, is the hill on which the Wesleyan Church in Nukualofa stands; it is called, since its application to this Christian use, Saione, Zion. Veiongo (sounding water) is said to have been given to the hill because the sound of flowing water could be heard by placing the ear to the ground.

15. Felemaka, a locality inland in Nukualofa is now the dwelling of a Wesleyan native minister.

16. Mataloko, Ngalulahi and Sisilouango are the names of headlands or eminences (*matanga*) in Vavau.

17. Tatauoalo means the top of the hill Talau in Vavau.

18. Falefilimoto is given by Gifford as a sea-cliff in Vavau. A timber used in house-building is termed *filimoto.*

Pages 104-105. Vavau and Haapai

1. Keitahi and Tausisivavaki are beaches in Vavau.

[776] 2. Lofia is the volcano in Tofua, Haapai. Vailahi (Great water) would seem to be the crater lake of this volcano. That the volcanic cone is in the lake is a peculiar construction. Their being in close association must be understood without pressing the local significance of 'i. It is said, however, that Lofia is the name of the god who lies within the crater and spurts out fire and smoke and stones.

[504] 3. Paluki is a beach, affording excellent anchorage for small boats, in Lifuka, Haapai. Kasivaki is unidentified, but is evidently a place in the same locality.

[551] [101] 4. Loupua (Leaf of *pua,* a plant with sweet-smelling blooms) is a nickname for the king, possibly the King of Haapai. The people of Haapai generally are said to be sometimes called *pua.* Haapai is a cluster of islets, scattered so that its people spend more time at sea than do those of any other part of Tonga. This exposure to wind and weather is said to give them a ruddy complexion, whence the nickname *pua,* for the red blooms of the plant. Pangai is on the island of Lifuka, Haapai.

539 823 [726] 5. When vessels visit Haapai they put in at Lifuka, but it is possible that the remains of the *Port-au-Prince,* in which Mariner arrived in 1806 are indicated. The *Port-au-Prince* was cut out on the sea-front of Lifuka. She was burned, but her final resting place was in shallow water and doubtless a little wreckage was visible.

made on the native mind that a living Tongan, a very capable sailor and pastor of the Wesleyan Church, is still pointed out as the grandson of the man who performed the feat. 533 539

23. Laulea; a beach in eastern Tongatabu, suitable for surf-riding. 643

24. Anamanu and other localities mentioned are all in Vavau.

25. Kao, the high volcanic cone in the western extremity of Haapai; Lofia, the crater lake in the companion island Tofua. 669

26. Kafoa, a hill in Vavau. Aloitalau, the crest of the hill Talau in Vavau. 533

27. I have not identified the *esi 'o* Koloakimaha, but it is probably one of the numerous peaks on the beautiful uplands of Eua. 539 103

28. The *maile* is a creeping plant.

29. The *pua* is a tree with sweet-scented flowers. In *I le vao, le* is the Samoan, not the Tongan, article. 533 539

30. "When one champion falls another steps forward to take his place." This first line has passed into proverbial use. 824

31. The word *tui* (pierce) is used of all piercing weapons; toa, of which clubs were made, is used of all striking weapons. The second line is an encouragement, or incitement, to rush into battle whilst the army is still up to its full numbers. Numbers 29 and 30 are war chants formerly sung in the taunting which preceded the general engagement. 824 192

32. The word *toho* means pull, and *io,* yes; *a mai* may possibly mean, wake up, that is, be lively at the work. The meaning of *amatu* is not known. The word *amatoi* is sometimes used instead of *amatu,* with the responses *loi* or *lioi.* 726 192

33. The localities named are all in Eua. Tava is the northeastern headland of that island; Matalave, a stream near by; Koloutukape, a fortress where a warrior defeated his foes by digging holes, and covering them with leaves of kape (*Arum costatum*) and then inciting the enemy to run over them. 103

34. The *puke* is the decking at the stern and bow of a canoe. Those who sit there take no part in the work. This chanty represents men sitting in the *puke* and resting, and then in turn taking their part in the work, and one after another returning "badly" to the deck to rest. Why "badly" is not clear. 501

Page 125. Present day love songs

1. The ideas *huni* and *kulukona* (two fragrant plants) are here used to denote the absent sweetheart.

2. The name *langakali* (a sweet smelling flower) is of course used of the sweetheart. Portions of the last two lines are missing from my copy, and evidently a line is lost from the end of the second stanza.

3. The plant names *kuku-valu, hingano, huni,* and *siale-tafa* and white rose are all applied to the girl. 824

of most forts took a circuitous course, and where more than one wall was 172
present, they formed closely spaced concentric circles or ovals. 712

The fence or palisade surmounting the earthen wall was about 9 feet high and was made of reinforced reed thatching or of upright posts set deep in the earth and held together by courses of vine and bark binding. The combined wall and fence was called *pakelekele* (*pa*, fence; *kelekele*, earth).

Gateways were guarded by platform superstructures, transverse bars to be adjusted in an emergency, and secondary buttresses, or guard walls, defensively covering the way of entrance. Outlook platforms were placed where most needed along the top of the palisade.

The area (*tuakolo*) immediately outside the moat was the site of mantraps: *lovosa* (large traps) and *sokie* (small traps). The *lovosa* were large pits, their bottoms studded with sharpened upright stakes (*soki*) concealed by a covering of poles, brush, and earth too frail to support a man's weight. The *sokie* were small pits suffiiciently large to receive a man's leg and containing a single upright sharpened stake, concealed from the eye of the unsuspecting attacker in a manner similar to that employed in the larger traps. A moat with a bottom equipped with such stakes was called *sokii.*

These forts, properly defended, were exceedingly difficult to take. It speaks well for the courage of the Tongan warriors that they did not hesitate to storm such defenses, often with success. Waterhouse (26, p. 316) states [171]
that in Fiji similar forts were seldom taken by local war parties save through inside treachery. The Tongans, as pointed out by Thomson (22, p. 363), 726
under George I Tupou, stormed and took Fijian forts with apparently little trouble.

Erskine (8, p. 75) and Turner (25, p. 191) show that the Tongans sur- 171
passed the Samoans as town fortifiers and actually contributed largely towards 712
the perfecting of Samoan forts. It is reasonably certain that diffusion of ideas regarding such defenses passed from Tonga to Samoa. Primitive Fiji, however, was well supplied with fortified towns which were practically identical with those of Tonga (8, p. 216; 24, pp. 91-92; 28, pp. 48, 49, 58), and although there undoubtedly was a certain amount of diffusion in both directions, it seems probable that the original route of diffusion was from Fiji to Tonga. Fijian forts were commonly called *kolo* and the word appears to belong to the Fijian rather than to the Tongan tongue.

The New Zealand pa is interesting in this connection as it bears a closer resemblance to the Tongan *kolo* than does any other fortification reported from Polynesia. The presence of strong Melanesian characteristics in other phases of the Maori culture suggests that the pa, like the Tongan *kolo*, may be considered as largely a Melanesian contribution.

USE OF CAVES

172 There is evidence of a twofold use of caves in Tonga. Use for tempor-
342 ary shelter and places of hiding was to be expected and warrants no lengthy
discussion. The use of caves as burial places, however, deserves more care-
172 ful consideration as it is contrary to recent customs and traditions, and not
764 altogether in harmony with the usual primitive methods of burial. It is in-
teresting to note in this connection that the Fijians somtimes buried their
[171] dead in caves (28, vol. 1, p. 186). Moreover, no accounts of cave burials
in Samoa were found—negative evidence hardly appropriate to use as an
argument for Fijian origin of cave burial. Tongans usually account for
[173] the occurrence of skeletal material in caves by stories of wartime refugees
who lived and died there, or who were tracked to their hiding places and
killed there. The remains are usually laid out with great care, however, and
172 in no way suggest a scene of final retribution. Referring to a cave burial
which he saw at Toula, Vavau, West (27, p. 186) says: "The native guide
764 informed me, that strangers to the land were never buried in the ordinary
766 places of interment. They were considered as outcasts, and their bodies
were, therefore, brought to this cave to be buried in the sand." On the other
hand, the skeletal material which I obtained from a cave burial on the island
of Kau, Haapai, was found by Sullivan (21) to be similar in type to material
from regular burial places. This suggests that these people were not foreigners in any radical racial sense. The available evidence seems to indicate
that some strangers and foreigners may have been buried in caves, in districts where caves were available, and that other caves were used as burial
sites by refugees for their dead.

172 The caves Anapusi (Cat-cave), Poutaha (Single-post) and Anakumetekava (Stone-kava-bowl-cave), situated near the western top of a low hill
342 south of Maofanga, Tongatabu, were traditionally used as dwelling places
[825] or temporary shelters. Cat-cave is so named on account of some owls that
are said to live there and to have the supernormal power of assuming the form
of cats at will. Single-post-cave derives its name from a limestone column
which supports the entrance roof. A concave stone, said to have been found
in Stone-kava-bowl-cave, accounts for its name. All of these caves are un-
172 comfortably small as places of residence. Nevertheless, refugees from the
342 fighting forces of George I Tupou are said to have hidden there. They bear
no evidence of prolonged occupation.

726 A cave called Analahi (Large-cave) penetrates the precipitous face of
the northeastern shore of Eua, Tongatabu. It is said that a group of Euan
refugees lived here for a considerable length of time, the only means of
access to the cave being so difficult that a single man could guard it against

an army. These refugees were finally starved out and were all killed in 172
attempting to leave the place. Examination found the cave to be a series 342
of four connected caves, owing their origin to erosion in limestone. They 726
were large, roomy, well protected from the elements, and accessible only
by a single, difficult trail. The irregular stone floor was covered in places 172
by a thin stratum, 0.2 feet thick, of mingled sand, ash, and charcoal. Some 342
seashells and a few bones of small birds and fish were present in this material.

The following Tongan caves contain burials: 172

1. Anaotua (Gods-cave), penetrating the low cliff facing the sea just 764
below the town of Toula, Vavau.

Over the floor of this large cave is a stratum of fine white sand, of a kind not found in any natural formation on this part of the coast. This artificial stratum is of barely sufficient thickness to cover the human remains found buried there. Recently large quantities of this sand have been removed for use in making grave mounds in the modern cemetery at Toula. No native information regarding the cave burials could be obtained.

2. Makatapunimatapa (*maka*, stone; *tapuni*, to shut, to put a lid upon; *matapa*, doorway, entrance), on the volcanic island of Late, on the outskirts of the Haapai group.

This cave was not visited. According to reports, it is a large sepulchral cave artificially floored with white sand, upon which the dead have been laid out in rows. The mouth of the cave is said to be sealed by means of a large, rectangular, vertically placed slab of stone, occupying a central position in the opening, and several smaller slabs placed at either side. Some of these smaller slabs have been displaced, allowing entrance to the tomb.

This account seems plausible to me as I examined a similar sepulcher on the neigh- 172
boring island of Kau—also of volcanic origin. Here a large surface lava bubble had
been broken into from the side to an extent sufficient to admit a man, by means of 764
crawling, into the hollow interior. This chamber was 11 feet long, 8 feet wide and 3.5 133
feet high. A steep slope of broken rock and debris led down from the opening to the
cave floor, which was smoothly covered with a light colored sand. A transverse wall 172
of small, rectangular stones separated the mixed material, descending from the entrance,
from the sand floor. Eight groups of skeletal material, probably representing eight 764
burials, lay on the sandy floor of the cave. The entrance had been externally sealed
by means of a large flat stone which had been removed previous to my visit. The
buried material showed signs of having been disturbed, but most of the bones were in
a fairly good state of preservation. The only artifacts found associated with the
skeletal material were five tubular beads fashioned from the wing bones of some
fairly large bird.

3. Small cave in the side of the hill called Mounga, near the town of Nomuka, island of Nomuka, Haapai.

The human bones found in this cave had been so disturbed by recent vandalism that the meaning implied by their occurrence was entirely lost.

4-5. Anapekapeka, at Maifi, and Anafakaata, at Haasini, Tongatabu.

These two caves are floored with a fine white sand said to be foreign to the immediate vicinity. Human bones, resting on this sand, appear to be the remains of burials.

539 **448. Nonofo nonofo iloa ae tae oe nonofo:** Living together, living
592 together, the excrement of the living together (or of those liv-
829 ing together) is discovered.

571 Baker renders it: "To live together for a length of time, and then find out the evil of so doing." This seems a very likely meaning, but the expression is also explained as equivalent to the English, "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

539 **449. Tangi ke vikia kae au ae kainga:** Desiring to be praised
622 but the relatives badly off.

565 This particularly indicates a chief who makes a liberal distribution of
602 his food and other wealth, but overlooks the claims of his own immediate
431 followers. He may earn the reputation of generosity from numerous people who have benefitted by his ostentatious gifts, but those whom every consideration of justice and gratitude should have recommended to his most kindly treatment are left to suffer want. Also written, *Holi ke vikia.*

539 **450. Hala a jinifu:** Wrong-doing of concubine.

595 Wrong-doing, punishment for which involves others besides the actual
183 offender. If one of the wives of a chief proved false to her lord the whole
577 harem shared her guilt and punishment.

539 **451. Ofoofa a kui:** Love of grandparent.

The love of grandparents is very sincere but their anger is to be
603 dreaded, as in their wrath they may strike the offending grandchildren how
571 and where they will. The love of one whose affection is undoubted, but whose position of authority is such that he may punish without let or hindrance.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

539 **452. A maumau taimi:** Awake, wasting time.

584 Applied, for instance, to the man who spends his evenings wooing a
[726] girl whom he has no chance of winning. Used also in derision by the warriors inside a fortress to the foe whom they see outside watching early and late for an opportunity to force an entrance.

[177] In its present form with its employment of *taimi,* a corruption of the English time, this phrase is modern, but with the slight change to *A maumaunoa,* waking to no purpose, it may well be ancient.

453. Anefe ha taha a Majilamea: When was there anyone of Majilamea?

A beautiful chiefly girl of Vavau was courted by a chief of Majilamea in Vavau. This gentleman was not a very glib speaker nor apparently was he very lavish with his gifts to the lady. His courting was evidently a rather dull infliction on the damsel. She was wooed and won by another man who was not a chief, but who had the art of pleasing speech and the

539 **512. Mala fai e tangata:** Curse that man makes.
578 A curse that does not come from the unseen powers but is the fault of man himself.

539 **513. Muimui a nunua:** Retribution following after.
183 This is the pessimistic statement that sorrow is following on the heels of men.

539 **514. Toka moe kafa:** Lying with cord, lying down bound.
681 One who is not lying down because he wants to but because he is a
183 bound prisoner and can not do otherwise. It may be translated also, "Existing with cord, existing bound," but the idea is precisely the same of a prisoner in bonds. So generally of a person who must pursue a certain course of action, of things that must of necessity be done.

COMMON PEOPLE

539 **515. Fai faka-fatongia:** Doing compulsory task fashion.
The *fatongia* was the forced service exacted from the people by the
466 chiefs. This indicates a job that one does not set about whole-heartedly
461 because he wishes to do it; but one which he does unwillingly and only because he must. "Government stroke."

539 **516. Fiemua e tua ki mua:** The commoner trying to outwit (a)
565 chief.
829 The chiefs were the repositories of wisdom and knowledge; the com-
571 moners lacked their intelligence and experience. Consequently for a commoner to attempt to get the better of a chief was a mark of foolish presumption. So used generally of a man trying to outwit one wiser than himself, of an inferior attempting to get the better of his superior.

539 **517. Ha fie matai koia e tangenge:** A would-be craftsman that
554 (that is) large.
Used in rebuke for forwardness, presumption. The nuance of the
183 Tongan phrase is not greatly different from some such English colloquialism as, "Well, that's a pretty tall order." "You certainly have got some hide."

539 **518. Jii kae ha:** Small but appearing.
565 Used of one who wishes to appear to the chiefs or people but has very little that he can take as a present. Notwithstanding the insignificance
431 of his offering he takes and presents it and achieves the prominence that he desires.

539 **519. Kai foto a tua:** Commoner eating sting ray's tail, or as we
726 should say in English, making cannon fodder of himself.
565 The tail of the sting ray was used to tip the spears, and the sense is
411 that of the commoner braving all the dangers of war, with the further

undemocratic understanding that however brave he may show himself he 539
is nevertheless but a commoner. There is a couplet which runs as follows: 726

Tangi a tua ke tau ke toa, 565
Kae toatoa toe tua pe. 411

Which, somewhat freely translated runs:

A commoner wanting to be a great warrior,
But with all his courage remaining but a commoner.

520. Lolinga a motu: Habit of islet. 539

The word *motu,* translated islet, refers to the smaller islands scattered 184
about the Tongan group. Although the largest island is only about twenty- 829
five miles long the word *motu* is not used of it nor in general of the other more important centers of population. Different sections of Tongan population do not show the variation in manner and outlook that separates extreme rusticity from extreme "towniness" in white men's countries, but the manner in which the out-of-the-way islander does things excites something of the same half-contemptuous tolerance in the man accustomed to places where the elite of Tongan society are centered, as the country man does in the city man. All such comparisons as these, however, are vastly
in favor of the Tongan over the European. In all places courteous good- [576]
breeding is the rule, and the foreigner's ignorant blunders are passed over with bland indifference.

521. Ngu a tua: Muttering of commoner. 539

A commoner may be vexed at something and complain but his anger 565
is little regarded because of his social inferiority and consequent powerlessness. Another possible rendering is, "power or might of a commoner," but the application would be much the same as above. (See No. 522.)

522. Ngungulu a feiumu: Grumbling of cook.

Very similar to No. 521. A no account man like a cook may do a lot 539
of grumbling but all the same he has to do what he is told and get about 554
his job whether he likes it or not.

523. Ngutu tamulea: Officious mouth. 539

Used of a commoner officiously expressing his opinion in the affairs 565
of chiefs, or generally of one putting in his say where it is not wanted. 829

524. Tala be i tua mamao: Report far outside; that is, the re- 539
ports and conjectures of those who are far from the center of 565
things where only the truth is to be discovered. 622

The compounds of the chiefs were fenced and only the *matapules* and 183
the chosen few could have access to the councils of the great lords, there- 203
fore the conjectures of the rank and file outside the fence were likely to be far from the truth. The word *tua,* translated above "outside" is also used of the common people and "*tua mamao*" may mean "common people far down the social scale" rather than "far outside." In either case the meaning is the same; the unreliable reports circulated in the conversation of those who have no means of knowing the truth.

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539 **559. Fakatoa tele:** Do-or-die courage, or rather, like a do-or-die
181 hero.

Meaning and application follow closely the English.

539 **559a. Fakate a Halia:** Marshalling of Halia.

726 Used of a numerous crowd of people who, in spite of their numbers,
181 are inefficient and unable to carry out the work for which they were assembled. It is said that the phrase originated with certain fighting at Halia, in the island of Foa, in Haapai. One of the armies engaged was large but was defeated by its less numerous antagonists.

539 **560. Kuo totoa hono nima:** His hand is bloody.

183 The warrior who has slain one man is thereby incited to further war-
701 like deeds. Generally of the encouragement to further effort which is given by initial successes.

539 **561. Longolongo ai valu:** Omen of war.

721 Used with much the same meaning and range of application as the
183 English "Calm before the storm." The last two words of this phrase are Fijian, and it is possible that the whole phrase may have been brought from Fiji, and the Fijian *rongorongo* modified in the usual way to *longolongo. Rongorongo* is the same word, however, as the Tongan *longolongo.*

539 **562. Malanga fai i he ate:** Speech made in the *ate.*
726 **Malanga fai mei he ate:** Speech made from the *ate.*
571 The *ate* is a shrub. The expression indicates being too late in speaking about a thing, or in preferring a request.

The story is that in the fighting of about a hundred years ago one of the regiments from the east of Tongatabu, the Pelehake regiment, dug a great trench in the western part of the island, with the object, it is said, of cutting off the western district from the remainder of Tongatabu. They worked hard and performed prodigies of labor during the night and at about daybreak bathed and rested. The great Vahai, the most formidable of their opponents, happened to sail along in his canoe near to the spot where they had bathed, and noticed the oily appearance of the water, due to the washing of the warriors' heads, and the marks where clay had been turned up (clay being the detergent used by the bathers). Vahai could see by these signs that a great number of people had bathed and guessed at once that so numerous a body of men could be nothing but an army. Landing with his own men to investigate the matter he found the Pelehake people all asleep and slew them. Among the doomed host was one warrior, evidently a fighter of renown, who was standing upright with his eyes open. Vahai thought him awake but in reality he was fast asleep. Vahai pierced him with his spear and the sleeper, suddenly awaked, jumped aside into the bushes *(ate)* and begged for his life, but in vain. He was slain with his companions. Hence this expression indicates an unavailing petition, a request that is made too late.

563. Mata ki vae: Face to foot, that is, one who is face from head to foot, whose whole body is skillful and alert. 539 701

Applied particularly to the warrior who is not only bold and able in the use of his weapons but is also fleet-footed and able to escape by flight when flight is necessary. Used generally of the man who is capable and active in every direction. 554 826

564. Ngungu tau: Sounding war. 539

Applied primarily to the beating of the native drum for war. There were different ways of beating for different occasions. The war beat evidently produced a very full clear note, and *ngungu tau* has come to mean the note of the drum when it is specially resonant. Such a sound is today regarded as an omen that somebody will die; possibly a reminiscence from the real war beat which was a call to death. Like No. 308 this is used proverbially of signs that something is going to happen. 721 534

565. Pona-tuu: The exact literal translation is uncertain. It is perhaps Standing death-blow. 539 726

The thing indicated is the last effort of a warrior who seeks to slay a foe in the instant of his own fall. A great champion (*toa*) was regularly accompanied by a companion (*hoa*, comrade, *hoa-tau*, comrade in war), who was himself a doughty warrior, the friend of the greater champion in peace and his close attendant in battle. In a struggle between two champions their respective companions assisted them by attacking their adversaries from behind, each champion thus having two enemies to attend to. Should it become manifest to one of the champions that he must be overcome he would strive with his last effort to strike backwards and kill his opponent's companion as he himself fell. This last backward stroke was the *pona-tuu*. Applied generally to the final, supreme effort. 572

566. Popoto faka-Tongatapu: Tongatabu reconciliation. 539

Tongatabu was a land of war, and it was difficult to know whether a reconciliation were genuine or deceptive. 728

567. Ta e ta kae tapa e tapa: The strikers strike and the reserves are in reserve. 539 726

It was the business of the reserves to shout and tell who were slain. The meaning of the phrase appears to be, everybody doing his own job, both those whose business is the actual fighting and those whose function it is to report the progress of the battle. 701

568. Ta e toa tuu e toa: A champion struck down, a champion standing.

This means that after one great warrior is slain another steps forth to oppose the foe. The word for warrior, *To'a*, differs from the word for the tree, *toa*, (*Casuarina equisetofolia*) only in having the glottal stop, and the phrase is sometimes given the meaning that after one casuarina tree is [137] [824]

539 cut down another grows up. In either case the reference is to the same
thing, the labors and struggles of one mighty man who has fallen are taken
726 up by another. This proverb appears in a couplet, "*Ta e tea tuu e toa,*
701 *Iloga he vale bea hola.*" "A champion has fallen, a champion stands, let
824 him who is unskilled flee."

[137] 569. **Tala pea taki mai ha tau:** Tell and bring an army.

539 Like number 536 a derisive retort to one who threatens to report
571 one's conduct. Tell and bring an army to back up your censure. What
difference is it going to make if you do tell so-and-so? Is there going to
be an army sent to punish me? The same idea is expressed also by *Tala
pea e fai ha tau:* Tell, and is there going to be a war?

539 570. **Tata langovaka:** Striking compensation, that is, fighting
721 again to compensate for a previous defeat.

571 One will use his utmost endeavors to make good the earlier defeat.
183 Used generally of putting forth one's full effort so as to compensate for a
previous failure.

539 571. **Tau kovi pea kovi hono toi:** Bad fighting and bad hiding.

725 A skillful leader may make good the deficiency in numbers of his
183 troops by a wise use of cover. This indicates a state of things that was bad
enough in the beginning and was not remedied by judicious management.

539 572. **Tofi-kulu:** Head splitting; a knock-out blow.

726 Used of a final, decisive stroke, an unanswerable argument. The word
194 *kulu*, head, is interesting as showing the initial *k* which has been replaced
in the ordinary form of the word by the glottal stop.

539 573. **Tulituli ta:** Chasing up (the) stroke.

726 An expression from warfare, indicating one who is pursuing a fleeing
foe and is just about within striking distance. Applied to one who is
461 putting forth all his effort to accomplish something which he is on the
183 point of bringing off.

539 574. **Vava faka-Vaipoa:** Rejoicing Vaipoa-like.

726 Vaipoa is a village in Vavau. The phrase is applied to joyful expecta-
276 tions that are not realized. The expression is said to have originated with
a great warrior named Mahina who lived in Vaipoa. It was customary to
554 hold a kava ceremony on the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the
braves would boast, or pledge themselves to valiant action. It was not
unusual for a warrior to boast that he would kill the first foe that should
be slain. This of course pledged him to rush foremost into the thick of the
battle. Occasionally the chief of the army would give to the champion
who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of
kava, in this case the first, the chief's own. On one occasion Mahina with
his fellows of Vaipoa was on a warlike expedition and at the kava pre-
ceding the battle Mahina pledged himself to slay the first of the enemy

and was given the principal cup by the commander-in-chief. The army 539
raised a shout of joy on hearing the pledge of Mahina, regarding the 726
undertaking of so noted a warrior as a thing already as good as done, but 276
when the battle was joined the honor of first blood fell to another. The 554
chief on being told that Vaipoa had not succeeded in performing his vaunt remarked in reference to the earlier confident applause of the hero's admirers, "That was Vaipoa rejoicing."

575. Ta ae uluafi: Slay the first foe; the head of battle. 539

Ulu-afi seems to mean literally the head of fire, and is a term regularly used of the first man killed in battle. To kill the first foe is used of overcoming initial difficulties, securing a first success, in much the same way as we speak of drawing first blood. 726

576. He oku puli ae kava i Atata? Is the kava in Atata lost to view, or forgotten? 539 726

Atata is a small island just off the coast of western Tongatabu. Just 276
before engaging in battle it was the practice to hold a kava ceremony at 554
which the first cup was sometimes given to the warrior who pledged himself to be the first to slay one of the enemy. The first slain was called by a special name, *uluafi,* which apparently means literally "head of fire." On the occasion commemorated in this expression the kava before battle was drunk on the island of Atata, the first cup being duly claimed and drunk by a certain brave. When the battle was joined and the first of the enemy slain the commanding chief asked who had struck him down, when the warrior who had taken the pledge of the first cup answered, "Is the kava in Atata forgotten?" thus proudly asserting that he who had pledged himself in the kava was of course the one who had performed the feat.

SPORTS AND GAMES

LAFO

[*Lafo* is a game played by throwing large beans or disks of coconut- 524
shell along a mat, the object being to make the disk stand as close as possible to the edge of the mat. The mat is bolstered up along the sides so as to present a concave surface. Usually it is played by teams of two, a pair of opponents sitting together at each end; but there was a form of the game in which the single men were replaced by groups of five, thus making teams of ten—two groups of five each at either end. In this form of the game the leaders of the fives sat at the ends of the mat two pairs facing each other, while the remaining parties of four sat round the corners, at the sides of the mat, and turned slightly aslant so as to face along the mat. There were five pieces to throw, and in the game where there were five men instead of one, each man had but one piece; in the form played by teams of two each man throws five pieces. Opponents throw alternately. The score is reckoned from six to ten, these five points constituting an *ulu,* game, and the winning side is that which scores the greater number out of five *ulus.* In the case of the sides being equal with two *ulus* each the fifth game is scored from one to ten, thus having ten points. *Lafo* is a fine game, but little played now.]

175 in their hands, the chiefs, arrayed in various dresses,
651 which distinguished the districts over which they
presided, reverently approached him in regular rotation,
in a slow, solemn pace, with a kind of monotous song[1] and upon their bended knees, presented
the first productions of their abbees. They then
rose up and passed off in the same order, and with
the same solemnity.

175 When the ceremony of offering the first fruits of
their fields is completed, they usually have a dance,
535 and often fight with branches of the cocoa-trees,
175 before they return to their respective districts. In
669 appearance they all did so on this occasion; but a
plot had been formed for assassinating Dugonagaboola
[643] and making Mulkaamair supreme chief. This
[634] was planned by one Loogolala, a chief of Tongataboo,
who had attached to himself a number of enterprising
young men, through whose assistance he was
much advancing in wealth and power. Mulkaamair
175 was his distant relation. To make their design
669 more secret, his two canoes which were large
726 and filled with his fellow conspirators, set off as
though they were going away, but waited off the
reef, at Ahogge, till evening; when they returned,
by land, to Mooa; where Dugonagaboola continued
that night, as well as Mulkaamair and his party.
As soon as they arrived, they proceeded to station
an armed watch in every road leading to and from
the residence of Dugonagaboola; that none might

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[1] [Errata: this should read monotonous. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

be allowed to pass or repass to excite any alarm. 175
Having placed every thing in a state of preparation,
a chosen band proceeded in search of the spot 669
where Dugonagaboola slept. They founed all his 726
attendants asleep, but were afraid to slay any one,
lest they should mistake the person of the chief and
give the alarm. At length he was betrayed by the 175
perfumeded oil on his head. This oil is scented 303
with wood brought from the Feejee islands, not far [439]
distant from Tonga. The wood is rubbed or scraped
into a kind of saw-dust, with a rough fish-skin;
with this the oil is mixed, and strained, and then it
possesses a strong perfume. This is used only by the [302]
principal chief. Discovering him by this distinction, [565]
they murdered him, and seven or eight of his 175
attendants. This gave the alarm, and the rest fled; 669
but as every road was beset, many of them were 726
killed also. The conspirators then proceeded down
to the water, and seizing as many canoes as they
needed, broke all the rest, to secure themselves from
being pursued during the night.

By the next morning, the alarm was spread through great part of the Island, and multitudes flocked to Mulkaamair with the particular friends of Dugonagaboola, to inquire into the cause of the outrage, and to rouse him to revenge the death of the chief, on Loogolala. The people of Aheefo, which was the particular district of Dugonagaboola, warmly took up the cause of their chief; and hasti-

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175 ly repaired to Mulkaamair, to fight for it, under his
669 standard.

726 Loogolala, mean while, with his forces, continued at Ahogge, to prepare for battle in the place of the greatest hostility. The enemy, from Aheefo, dared not follow him by sea, on account of the inferiority of their fleet in number and skill. They hastened therefore by land, and met him, just as he had disembarked with his men. Loogolala and his party, all young and unfatigued, and elated with the spirit of enterprise, attacked them with a vigour which they could not withstand. They fled, and Loogolala returned to the canoes, and sailed off for Arbai, to strengthen his cause by an addition of troops.

In three days he returned with ten sail of canoes, and a considerable number of men, many of whom expected that they had come to fight for the cause of Dugonagaboola, who had formed an alliance with them by marriage, not long before, as described above. By this time all the districts were in arms, and thousands were ranged under the standard of Mulkaamair; but to the astonishment of all, a coalition was formed between Mulkaamair and Loogolala, to fight for their own cause, against that of the murdered Dugonagaboola.

The friends of Dugonagaboola instantly deserted, and fled to Aheefo. Meanwhile, Mulkaamair was joined by the three districts of Ahogge, Mooa, and Ardeo,

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Mulkaamair, who was the commander in chief, 175
assembled all his forces on the spot where Dugona- 669
gaboola had been assassinated. They were array- 726
ed in as warlike a manner as they could be, some [714]
with only the maro, with black faces and disfigur-
ed limbs, their hair cut close, except a bunch tied
together, rising from the crown of the head, like a
soldiers cockade. Gratitude, as well as attachment 175
to Mulkaamair, retained me of course in his party. 669
I might have stayed behind, but I was desirous of 726
seeing the war, and of fighting myself; as I esteem- 727
ed their warfare mere child's play. It was deter-
mined to proceed against the district of Aheefo, [723]
which was small in comparison of the rest; and to
make an attack upon it at the same time, both by
land and sea, with all our forces. The next morn- [202]
ing therefore, the conchshells blew the alarm of
battle, and thousands* repaired to the standard—
Loogolala sailed with his fleet; and the principal
army, of which I was one, marched forward about
seventeen miles.

We soon arrived at Ardeo—the abode of the Missionaries, formerly my beloved companions, but

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* The author may possibly appear to exaggerate the numbers; but it should be remembered that it being the time of the natche, or annual festival or offering of the first fruits—many natives of the surrounding islands, were collected together at Tongataboo.

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175 now the objects whom I shunned. They were
669 on our side, and there the chief halted and took
726 some refreshment. I saw them, but as they were
797 in their European dress, and I had only the maro
round my loins, I was ashamed to face them. Conscience, at this time, smote me for my apostacy, and whispered "Battle and danger are at hand and you may be slain: what account can you give before the bar of God; repent and join your companions again, seek the pardon which you need, and return to the way of holiness which you have forsaken." Had I yielded to these suggestions, I might have stayed behind with them; as the natives forced none to battle at Tonga. But I was desirous of accompanying the warriors. I burned for the fight, and pressed forwards to the first ranks. As we were a great multitude, and far superior in numbers to the enemy, we thought ourselves sure of victory. We proceeded, with my old chief Mulkaamair in the centre; but with no order, nor under any command of inferior officers. At length Mulkaamair halted to encamp for the night. A division went forwards to meet the enemy. For fear I should not witness the battle, I marched forward with them, till night came on, when I entered a hut, while many lay under the trees and slept. As soon as the morning dawned, we were alarmed by a cry of "Kotow gohow" "the enemy is upon

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us." We rose, and in truth, part of the enemy 175
had arrived, and had passed us; and another body 669
was hastening to attack us. The former division 726
might have murdered us all; but they wished to 797
push forwards, and penetrate through the ranks to Mulkaamair, in order, to extinguish the war by slaying him who had occasioned it. For this purpose, they had silently stolen by in a single file, in which each man took hold of the maro of him that preceded him, and trod in his steps. We had 1016
scarcely got out of the hut, when I saw the enemy at no great distance, in a large straggling body, hastening towards us and exclaiming "tow, tow," "war, war," Tow has several correspondent significations,—as an armed body of men, and war, which is the case with many of their words, which, derived from simple roots serve to express all the objects to which these primitive words apply.*

Immediately as I saw the enemy, I hastened forward to the first ranks, to see how they acted. A person who knew me, ran after me, and pulled me back by my maro, saying "Hoee ge hen" "come here, you do not know your danger." I retired, and

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* In the derivation of words from simple radicals, the remarkable similarity subsisting between this, and all simple languages, and the Hebrew, that original language of man, might supply matter for much amusing speculation.

175 discovered that there were many of the enemy with
669 bows and arrows, with which they might have
726 pierced me, if I had continued where I was. Still,
797 curiosity overcame fear, and I pressed forward again,
to join those in the front. Just then I saw Mul-
713 kaamair's son before me, engaged in fight with a stout man: I was running to his assistance, but, that instant, he struck off the head of his antagonist with a scythe that I had formerly given him, which he had made into an immense sword, by driving the blade into the handle which he had shortened into a hilt. Instead of standing upon his defence against the enemy, who were coming on in a determined manner, as resolved to conquer or die, he stuck the point of his sword into the head of the man he had killed, and ran back in triumph. Though far superior to them in number, my heart began to fail me for our party, when I noticed the irregular manner in which they engaged the enemy. These advanced, while we already began to draw back. Several of our chiefs fell, and the rest began to give way. The enemy then made a grand push; but as we were so numerous the fugitives only fell back upon the rear, which still kept their ground and prevented their flight. Unable to resist or escape, the front ranks fell. It was with difficulty I pressed through to the rear, where I took to my heels with all the speed that fear administered, and did

not look behind till I had run a full quarter of a 175
mile. We were all thrown into a a[1] panick, and con- 669
fusion; we lost the power of resistance, and num- 726
bers were slaughtered. I fell into a hole and sprain- 797
ed my leg. I was terribly alarmed, and thought I
must have fallen a sacrifice to the enemy. But I
exerted all my force, and limped forwards as fast as
possible. The pain and weakness of my leg, how-
ever, was such an obstruction, that my spirits sank
within me, and I began almost to despair. I heard
the enemy not far behind me, and expected the
spear, the club or the boggebogge, every moment,
to strike my back. The boggeebogge was an in- [113]
strument of war somewhat like a sword, but round
at the top, made of very hard wood with two edges
but very thick in the middle to give it weight and
strength.

The fear of these tremendous weapons roused me to exert all my strength, and to keep out of their reach. I took care in future battles, not to spring forward to the first ranks, and to run away in time. I found their wars were too terrible for the mere gratification of curiosity—that their instruments wielded with such strength and dexterity, were an overmatch for me, and that such an undisciplined volunteer as I was, would soon be speared. At length, we made a stand, and the enemy halted. Many came up with us, and fell back into the rear, wounded. Among them was a respectable chief of Ar-

[1] [Errata: the second a should be deleted. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

175 deo. He had received three or four wounds in the
669 head, before he would retreat. Some, like this chief,
726 were very courageous and fearless of death: others
797 were timid and cautious.

After we had faced about, our spirits a little revived, and we slowly retreated back, till we repassed the road, in which Mulkaamair had pitched his tents. But the object of the enemy was thus unfortunately accomplished: for, leaving a few to keep us employed, the rest hastened down the road, to reinforce their companions, who had been engaging Mulkaamair. While we continued fighting, with loss of little ground, but many men, this division kept pouring in their forces, to increase the main body; which so alarmed the party of Mulkaamair, that their spirits sank, and they took to flight in great disorder. Old Mulkaamair was carried on the shoulders of his attendants, on a "Fatta," i. e. two rails tied together and covered with matting. He saw his danger, and endeavoured in every possible way, to rally his forces;—but in vain. At length, the enemy made a grand push, and reached his guards and attendants. These, to the number of eighteen or twenty, were resolved to conquer with him, or to die. They fought with such bravery, that for a time they made the enemy retire; but at last, they all fell, overpowered with numbers. Amongst them were two sons of Mulkaamair, two wives and several relations. They soon seized Mulkaamair, but

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stood over him, in hesitation what to do, till one 775
of the main body that were pursuing his party, 669
came up and said, "kill him;" and, as is common- 726
ly the effect of a sudden command in a mob, come
from whom it may, they at once followed the ad- 797
vice, and put him to death.

They then continued to pursue Mulkaamair's army till they came to Ardeo, where Mulkaamair had halted to take refreshment. When they approached their habitation, the brethren came out to look at them, not expecting that they, who had taken no part in the war, would be molested. But amongst the enemy, arrived one, who had formerly requested some presents of the brethren, and had been refused; this opportunity he barbarously improved, to revenge himself, and directly running to attack them, others readily joined him. They knocked down Harper and Bowel, and an European who was with them, and immediately murdered them. James Gaulton fled; but looking back, and seeing his companions fall, to whom he was strongly attached, he returned, perhaps, in hopes of saving them, or through grief, or despair; and immediately shared their cruel fate.

My soul was overwhelmed with pity and sorrow, when I heard this sad account from those who had been eyewitnesses to it. Poor young Gaulton! he was very anxious, before the Duff sailed from England, to accompany us: and as an assistant to the Cook was wanting, he offered to undertake the ser-

775 vice. When we came to the Friendly-Islands, the
669 Captain and the Missionaries, having conceived a
726 high esteem for him, on account of his uniform pi-
797 ety and good conduct, consulted together, and elect-
ed him one of our number. He always resided with the brethren, whom he loved as his own soul; and so pleasant had his life been with them, that even "in death" he chose not to be "divided" from them.

The enemy proceeded, when they had murdered
[727] the Missionaries, to plunder their habitation. Many articles had been concealed and buried by them, but they searched and found all. They now returned from the pursuit, to rejoin their companions, whom they had left to keep us engaged, while they attacked Mulkaamair. We had routed this force, and pursued them along the road, till to our astonishment, we found numbers of our friends dead on the field of battle; and amongst the rest, we started back with horror to see, weltering in his blood, our beloved chief Mulkaamair, with his attendants! To behold my old and chief friend dead, was a shock that almost deprived me of strength and reason. I gave up all for lost, and was ready almost to lay myself down by his side, and die with him. I cannot describe my sensations at that time; I was all wildness and confusion.

I recollect, however, that looking about in the agony of despair, I saw a young woman with her thigh broken, and leaning her wounded head on a

175 dying man, that sat by her. She stretched out her
669 hand to me, as imploying[1] my help, and groaned
726 with pain. I was stepping towards her to assist her,
797 but at that instant, the enemy appeared, returning
from the pursuit, with those whom we had lately discomfited. We all took to flight; but in our way, we met with a division headed by Loogolala, coming by another road from Ardeo, where they had arrived by sea. Instead of facing about, we continued our flight to the sea-shore. This was a manoeuvre of Loogolala, who all the while, laughed, and encouraged us. It was low water, and the sea had left a very extensive beach. We ran along towards the water, pretending to make for our canoes
[493] for safety. The enemy pursued us, carrying their chief on a Fatta, i.e. two rails covered with matting.

We then made a stand, and faced about and hastened to attack them. They fled with precipitation, and threw down the old man together with the
[554] Fatta, and left him. Taking him prisoner, we found he was a relation of one of our chiefs, who, that he might not seem partial to an enemy, desired they would kill him; but his attendants insisted, that out of respect to himself, his life should be spared. They called therefore to his sons to come and fetch him: and retiring back a little, they suffered them to carry him safely off, without molestation, with a forbearing humanity, that would have reflected honour on the most civilized nation.

[1] [Erratum: this should read imploring. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst]

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CHAPTER XV.

CONTINUANCE AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

They renew the war.—Victorious.—Treatment of prisoners and of the dead.—Surprised and routed.—Flee to Attatai.—Ravages.—Barbarity of the children.—Return to Tonga.—Conquer.—Treatment of the captive chiefs.—Of the commonalty.—Tonga submits to Loogolala.—Also Arbai and Vavou.—A triumphant feast.

175 THE first day's battle, which had began with
669 alarm, and had been marked, in its progress, with
926 so much blood, having closed in a manner so agree-
991 able, we retired, as it was evening, to our canoes, and slept in them during the night. Our forces were all assembled here; next morning we discovered that the enemy, in great numbers, had stationed themselves at a place near the shore, called Bunghye, waiting our landing, when they intended to surprise us by a violent and sudden attack; as they had guarded every road leading from the beach to prevent discovery. We were aware of their intention, and the principal chief ordered an attack upon them

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in three divisions from three different points. The 175
battle was obstinate and bloody—at length they 669
fled; leaving behind them several old chiefs who 126
fell a sacrifice to our rage.

In the field of battle, was a large Fiatooka. In 127
this, numbers had taken refuge, supposing that, as [128]
it was the burying-place of Dugonagaboola, the
sanctity of the place would secure them from violence.
Our party however made an attack upon
the place, and attempted to pull up the fence. But
as the enemy within could not be seen, yet could
see us, when any one attempted to pull off the reeds,
they pierced him with their spears. They judged
it best, therefore, to set fire to it: but the sanctity
of the place deterred them. They applied to me:
I threw a firebrand upon the thatch; it did not
light for some time: at length it was all in a blaze.
Many of them fled out, but they found no quarter:
the rest therefore stood upon their defence, and
fought desperately till they were all killed. A few
young women amongst them came out, and begged
hard for their lives. They made these "boboolers," [127]
prisoners, and they became the property of those
who first took them.

After the victory, I made inquiries respecting my countrymen; and with heart-rending grief, learned the melancholy slaughter of those at Ardeo. I was informed also that the rest, who lived with other

175 chiefs, had escaped to the sea-shore; where, it was
669 supposed, they had concealed themselves among
726 the rocks.

797 After the engagement, our victorious troops
took the bodies of their slain enemies, dragged them
[727] to the sea-shore, and after inflicting every brutal
[266] insult of savage cruelty, roasted and ate them: thinking it a just revenge on their enemies to devour them. In the midst of their savage repast, they were surprised by the appearance of the enemy; but they were so voraciously hungry, that their own safety did not avail to make them stand on their defence in time to resist them. The enemy therefore threw us into confusion. We fled to the canoes with precipitation; some of which were nearly sunk by numbers. Many did not reach them ere they had put off from shore, and fell a sacrifice to the foe. One canoe filled with men and women was stranded. The chief of it determined to defend it to the last; and menaced, and defied the enemy. But one of them stole behind the canoe, and with his boggebogge knocked him down like a bullock; and taking possession of the canoe, all that were in it were massacred.

We made all the sail we could to Attatai. The wind blew against us, but, by midnight, we succeeded in reaching it, after much difficulty. The confusion and slaughter that took place at our embarking, had much reduced our party. The next

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morning it blew a storm, which, for three days con- 175
fined us prisoners on the island, to the great distress 669
of its inhabitants.

For the morning after we landed, we formed dif- 726
ferent parties to traverse the island, and discovered 797
many of the natives who, because they were of the party of the Aheſans, to which district they belonged, had secreted themselves. Poor creatures, they might well flee, for as soon as they were found they were slain.

As the party which I had joined, consisting of five or ſix, were walking along, we discerned the print of a man's foot in the sandy beach, near the water, which, from the recent fall of the tide, we knew must have been lately made; and therefore concluded that some one must be near us. We diligently searched, and at length discovered two persons hidden amongst the thick brambles that grew out of the side of the rock. We invited them to surrender themselves "boboolers," or prisoners. They came over to us, conscious that they could not escape. But the poor men seemed suspicious of some ill intention against them. My party pretended to lead them off as their servants to their canoes. But perceiving some among us raising their clubs to strike them, they took to flight. One of them, as he ran away, caught hold of me, to ward off a blow that was aimed at him; but being unfortunately on the brink of a precipice, we both rolled down it to-

175 gether. My party quickly followed us, and killed
669 him there. The other they overtook, and knocked
726 him down, but did not kill him; and some boys amongst
727 us, went, and barbarously amused themselves
in beating him. We found many women and children; but none were spared. So dreadful is war in a nation, where the fierceness of degenerate nature is not restrained by the the humanizing influence of civilization; and where ignorant and corrupt man has not been taught mercy, by Christianity.

After three days the gale ceased, and the canoes were fitted out to return to Mooa, that part of Tonga whence we had sailed to Aheefo, before we were driven from the island. We reached it by the close of day.

[729] Here a counsel was held on the means of a second
attack. Many of the Aheefans, we understood,
[718] had retired to a district called Mafanga, which was
considered as a sanctuary or country of refuge, to those who fled there. After staying some time at Mooa, to arrange and prepare our plan of attack, we set out with the fleet for Aheefo. The enemy had a force assembled to oppose us; but it was much diminished by the numbers who had fled for refuge to Mafanga. A great part of our men landed, unobstructed by the enemy,—an engagement ensued. We saw them, from the canoes, fight, pursue, flee, and kill. Our troops were too much extended, and seemed in danger of being routed.

175 At length the enemy gave way, and fled beyond
669 Aheefo; where some retired to secret places, and
726 others to Mafanga for refuge. This was a solemn
797 spectacle to me. The thought that had I been on
[727] shore, I might have sunk into eternity in a moment, with all my unpardoned guilt upon my head, excited some concern, and awakened a few transient sensations of gratitude to Heaven.

175 Having gained a complete victory, Loogòlala gave
669 orders to sail for Mafanga, and to take the refugees,
[727] but to do them no injury. Eight or nine of the chiefs, whom he took prisoners, he put into a canoe and ordered them to be taken, with a small supply of provisions, to a small distant island, at Arbai, where they had no means of escape. The lower orders were disarmed, and sent to their respective districts,
[728] to await the order of Loogolala. The whole island now submitted to him, and he appointed many of his friends governours of the different districts. He then made a descent upon the Arbai islands, which surrendered to him, and received his chiefs for their governours. From thence he proceeded to another group of islands, named Vavou, and sometimes called by the natives Afoolouou. They made no resistance, but readily yielded to his power. The principal island on which he landed, was almost covered with hogs. Loogolala had "tabooed," that is, laid an embargo upon them at this island, at the commencement of the campaign, intending, if victori-

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kaamair at the beginning of the war, he brought the 175
virgin with him to Mooa, and presented her to me, 797
and I conducted her to my Abbee. We returned the
next morning to Mooa, to see her father, before
his departure with Loogolala for Aheefo. The same 175
day I sent her up an arm of the sea to Ardeo, with 797
some of my people, in my canoe, while I marched 664
thither, as before related, among the troops, on foot,
that followed Mulkaamair. The war commenced
beyond Ardeo, as already detailed, the next morning;
when, our party being defeated, they returned
in the canoe down the same arm of the sea to
Mooa; and not aware that Loogolala, with his division,
was successful in another quarter, they conceived
that the whole army was defeated; and fled
away, in company with other canoes, to Arbai. Here
my young bride remained, till victory declaring in
our favour, and Tongataboo being subdued, I came
with her father, to whom I attached myself after the
death of his brother Mulkaamair, my old friend, to
Arbai, and took up my abode with her at his fallee.

During this interval, the Aheefans, stung with [126]
shame and rage, took courage to rebel; and sent
this message to Loogolala, "that as they had always
been their own masters, they would rather die than
be subject to him as slaves."

At this time, I had gone to Tongataboo, with [724]
two or three more, as provisions were scarce at
Arbai, to obtain a supply, to bring back with us in

175 returned thither, in the first voyage, from the Mar-
797 quesa's, whither he had accompanied William Crook.
The vessel having touched at Otaheite, he went on board in order to return to England. He remonstrated with me on my unbecoming appearance in the native dress. I felt conviction of the truth and justice of his remarks; and promised to return again to the ship to have some more conversation with him; but I never saw him more. Mr. Harris having sent word to the brethren they came on board the vessel that very evening; and the next morning I heard with extreme distress that the ship had sailed: whilst I, disjoined from them, was left behind as a just punishment of my dereliction of them and their cause. I now appeared to myself to be deserted for ever. My powers of mind were scarcely able to support me. But I endeavoured to summon up all my fortitude to meet my unavoidable lot, and to reconcile my mind to the prospect of settling as a native, and spending my future days at Tongataboo.

Just as the rebellion began, I arrived in a canoe,
175 with several of the friends of Loogolala, with the
797 intention to carry back provisions from Tonga to
669 Arbai. We had not proceeded far from Mooa, the
726 place where we landed, ere we met affrighted fugitives almost out of breath, who told us that the Aheefans were burning every thing they could, and killing all whom they met. We saw at a distance

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the smoke ascending from the burning fallees, or 175
cottages, that were scattered about the country, and 797
discerned clouds of dust rising as from the feet of
running multitudes. I, who had already been in 669
their wars, and had known what it was to tremble 726
at the apprehension of a club, a boggebogge, or a spear at my back, was terribly alarmed. We hastened back to our canoe, and pushed off to sea to a considerable distance, as soon as possible. After a time the trembling fugitives pursued by the enemy came to the beach; they knew not where to run, nor what to do: many ran into the sea and were drowned—numbers were killed. Multitudes ran along the shore, and were pursued to Ahogge, one end of the island; whither great numbers were also driven by another party of the Aheefans, who had swept the island in their dreadful progress: here hemmed in by the sea, in front and flank, and their retreat cut off behind, where the island, being very narrow like an isthmus, was occupied by the enemy, the wretched party of Loogolala that had remained on the island after his departure were cruelly massacred.

We rowed off to a little island, and remained there till the arrival of Loogolala, who as soon as he heard of this rebellion, sailed off with a number of canoes for Tongataboo, and landed all his forces. We joined his fleet, and disembarked at the eastern 175
end of the island, in the district of Ahogge, in order 797
669

175 to obtain provisions. Here we were grieved to ob-
797 serve the ravages which the enemy had made,
669 Spectacles too shocking for humanity to contem-
plate, soon sickened my sight, and sunk my spirits.
175 I beheld, with shaking horror, large stacks of hu-
797 man bodies, piled up, by being laid transversely
669 upon each other, as a monumental trophy of the
victory.

727 Proceeding a little farther, a horrid spectacle almost froze my blood. It was a woman in a sitting posture, with folded arms holding a child to her breast as in the act of suckling it. Upon approaching them, I found both the mother and child cold and stiff with death. The enemy had killed them while in this posture, and indulged their savage revenge in amusing themselves with placing the dead
175 bodies in this affecting attitude. Having obtained
797 provisions, we sailed for Aheefo, and leaving our
669 canoes in the care of a few, we disembarked, and
726 were joined on shore by the district of Mafanga. I
followed them at a little distance, but near enough to
observe them, as they marched against the enemy
who had fled to Aheefo, where they found them
[712] prepared to receive them. They had enclosed
themselves with a fence formed of reeds and stakes,
from which there were only two outlets.

Loogolala could not attack the fence, because of of men stationed behind it, on the watch, who the instant an assault was made, would have speared the assailants through the enclosure: he made there-

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fore a grand push at the entrance. The enemy 175
stood immoveable, as determined to keep their 797
ground. A bloody battle ensued. Only a few of
our troops could engage them. The enemy, there- 669
fore, at length, made us give way; and pouring out 726
of the enclosure, chased us to the beach, where we
took to our canoes with all possible dispatch, and
made for Arbai. Here Loogolala formed the reso- 175
lution to improve every opportunity of making a 669
descent on Tonga, to "tootang," i. e. secretly to 726
massacre and plunder, and then return.

An opportunity offered too soon. In a clear day, and with a good breeze, we sailed from Arbai at noon; and arrived at Tonga as soon as it was dark. The followers of Loogolala were all well acquainted with the country; every harler, or road, was familiar to them. Loogolala therefore had only to form his plan, that canoes should convey troops to take possession of particular harlers, or roads, as far up the country as a certain limit in the district of Aheefo, and every man at once knew his post, and the part he was to act. These were ordered to march down the roads towards Ardeo—in profound silence, to await the enemy who should flee towards Ardeo. As soon as they were supposed to reach the appointed posts, the main army entered the different roads, at the extremity of Aheefo, leading to the district of Ardeo, where their comrades awaited the arrival of the affrighted

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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175 natives, who fleeing from the sound of death and
664 suspecting no danger before them, fell at once in
their flight into the hands of their enemies, who im-
726 mediately slew them in silence, and waited in ambush till the arrival of more men.

By staying behind again, in the canoes, I was happily delivered from sharing the guilty execution and the danger of this horrible plan, through which, ere the sun rose to display the extent of mischief and devastation, hundreds were massacred. Thus suddenly surprised, the enemy could not give the alarm, and collect their forces together to resist us. Whilst the other districts beyond the appointed limit in Aheefo caught the alarm, and assembled to relieve their friends, we were rapidly pursuing them on the roads leading to our canoes, and before they could attack us, we were all safely on board.

175 In our return however to Arbai, we were in great
502 danger of being cast away. Though the wind blew
[726] unfavourably, we were obliged to sail off to avoid being pursued by the enemy. There were in the canoe in which I sailed off two hundred and fifty souls. During the night the wind veered, and the sea became so very rough, that we were all apprehensive that the canoe could not weather it. But as the morning dawned we discovered land; and providence favouring our attempt, we soon reached it; it proved one of the Arbai islands.

The horrible revenge by tootang was taken more 175
than once, while I was with them. When they 669
found that they were not sufficiently powerful to 726
make a descent to fight them, they would go in a
cowardly manner and cut down a field of plantains
or cocoa-nuts. By acts of revenge, like these, the
enemy were at length reduced to a state of starvation.
Our numbers at Arbai were also so great,
that we were often in extreme distress for provisions.

My father-in-law, Mulkaamair's brother, having a 175
considerable family of his own, I left him, during 797
this time of scarcity, and went to live with a relation
of Futtafaihe, or Duatonga. I wished also to
work myself into a state of independence again;
and he soon put me in the way to it, by giving me
the superintendence of a tract of land. Finding 175
that I had such methods of cultivation, and gave 797
such encouragement to the labourers that the estate
was soon brought into a fertile condition, he placed 634
me over an island in Arbai. Besides the greater
improvements which he thought I should make, [609]
there was another reason why he made me the superintendent
of it: because I was moolee or a
stranger, and such were the national ideas of the
duty of hospitality and forbearance towards strangers,
that this very consideration would preserve the
younger chiefs, as well as the other natives, from
plundering the fruits. But as the event proved, 175
[illegible] 797

669 Finau besieged the place with an army of 5,000
712 men and artillery taken from the captured ship
[726] *Port-au-Prince*, but, after an ineffective siege
[701] of many months, was obliged to make terms
[713] with the enemy. The place lies four miles
from Neiafu, on a deep bay communicating with
712 the same harbour. Descending from the modern
village which lies just outside the landward
defences, we came upon the outer rampart at
a spot about two furlongs from the beach and
100 feet above it. We traced the triple line
of ditches and earthworks for 200 yards, to a
spot near the angle, where they made a semi-
circular sweep to enclose a fissure in the earth
712 before trending inland, This rift was the secret
312 of the long resistance to Finau's army. The
story runs that, a few years before the siege,
a man weeding yams in the gardens above
noticed that his dog disappeared and returned
with a dripping coat. Fresh water is too rare
in Vavau for this to be allowed to pass, and the
next day the dog was followed. He vanished
into a hole in the coral rock, and after several
minutes, returned dripping as before.

Torches were procured and a man scrambled down. The passage gradually widened until, at a depth of forty or fifty feet, it became a

were really skilful; and this may be also said of 752
them, in regard to a few severe and delicate surgical
operations which they do not hesitate to perform.
It is worthy of remark, however, that they never
attempted amputations more serious than those of [412]
the fingers; and these were often effected in a most
rude and barbarous manner, by either hacking and
sawing them off with the edge of a sharp shell, or,
in modern times, by the use of knives or carpenters'
chisels. Two instances illustrative of these statements
may be here given. The first is that of a 752
woman, who came one day to the Mission dispensary, 797
with a diseased finger. It had begun to
mortify; and I told her that she must have it
amputated at once. To this she assented, and
expressed a desire that I should do it there and
then. I told her that I was both unwilling and
unable to do it myself, but referred her to a native
doctor. Accordingly, she went to one immediately, 752
and, waiting patiently until he had sharpened 412
a tool for the occasion, the mallet and chisel disposed
of the little member at a single stroke. Such
wounds were always healed by cauterization.

The second example of surgical skill we shall 752
adduce, was more refined and complicated. The 797
writer was called upon, in common with other Missionaries, [726]
during a native war in the year 1852, to
attend many cases of gunshot, and other dangerous
wounds. Among the number, we were summoned [634]
to visit Joeli Mafileo, the Governor of Haabai, who
had been dangerously wounded in the shoulder
by a musket-ball. The ball had passed completely
through the joint; shattering the bones
most severely. When we arrived, we found
that the native doctors had already dressed the

411 for an expected contest. The old weapons of the
country have, however, been greatly supplanted, by
411 the introduction of European arms and ammunition;
177 and there has been a consequent change from
[725] many of the former tactics and practices of heathen
[726] warfare. "Musket balls do not know chiefs," was
the lament of a grey-headed old chief, as he
marched past the writer to battle, with swaggering
gait, and kindling eye, swinging his great club
round his head as if it had been a cane, and evidently
longing for a hand-to-hand encounter with
some like-minded opponent. There was no little
amount of truth, too, in what he repeated a few
minutes afterwards, "Musket balls may do for
boys, but clubs are the weapons of men." In the
702 organization of their armies, and in the tactics they
[701] pursued, the Tonguese exhibited considerable skill.
[725] In any war of magnitude, a universal conscription
was enforced, in which none were excused from
following their leaders to the field, but those incapacitated
by age or bodily infirmity. All were
drilled in the use of arms, and were accustomed to
the practice of warlike exercises. When preparing
541 for war, a general review of troops was usually
703 held before the king, or leader, in which the
intending combatants swore fealty to their commander,
and pledged themselves to deeds of prowess
on his behalf. This was done by each of the party
rushing, with frantic energy and fierce gesticulations,
in front of the chief, flourishing and then
grounding his weapon: while uttering at the same
time the most ridiculous and empty boasts of what
the individual would do in the coming conflict.
712 The Tonguese were in the habit of constructing very
complete, strong, and well-arranged fortifications,

from whence their fighting excursions were made. 712
In besieging such places, they well understood the 725
method of approaching by trenches, and rifle-pits,
defended by earthworks and strong stockades.
They were also well versed in the science of 723
strategy, and knew no mercy to the vanquished 727
who fell into their hands. The contending parties 726
seldom met in a general engagement. The strife
was usually a series of skirmishes. Those taken in 727
war, whose lives were spared, became the *bobulas*,
or slaves, of the conquerors; and these were often
treated with the most refined and horrible cruelty,
at the caprice of their proprietor.

In times of peace, the men were fully occupied 462
in the various pursuits of agriculture, fishing,
sinnet-plaiting, canoe and house building, and,
above all, in voyaging. The women devoted themselves [287]
to the unceasing manufacture of the *fetaaki*,
or white beaten bark, of which the native cloth
was made, and to the completion of the process
in those *kokaagas*, or united gatherings of the
female sex, where the cloth was fashioned into
one immense piece, and then printed in brown and
black colours, according to the fancy of the maker.
The women did no field or house drudgery in the
Friendly Islands. They never even cooked the [252]
victuals of the family, that being always the duty
of the men. In addition to the manufacture of
gatu, or native cloth, their chief work was to
bring water from the wells; make all the sleeping
and wearing mats for both sexes; also baskets and
bags for various purposes, and any other little
nick-nacks for household use. Feasts, dances, 517
games, wrestling matches, and canoe races, filled
up much of the time of the people. Some of these

797 to our own door. This sad calamity showed that
798 the heathen were determined not to follow the
669 ordinary usages of Tonguese warfare, by respecting
the life of unarmed females, but rather to imitate
[177] the horrid practices of Fiji; and therefore the king
issued an order prohibiting all intercourse between
the different parts of the island, excepting through
the medium of armed escorts.

Sunday, March 28th.—Just as I left the Mission
798 gate for the purpose of preaching at the Nukualofa
669 chapel, a wounded chief, the queen's near relation,
721 and formerly Governor of Nukualofa, Junia
682 Haumono, was carried past. He was shot through
the head. He had been out on patrol duty, and
having ventured with his party too near the fort
of Bea, the enemy fired, and mortally wounded
him. Hearing, when Divine service was over, that
he was still living, I went to see him; he was, however,
totally unconscious from the first, and was
now evidently dying. I could only comfort and
pray with his weeping and wailing family. Junia
was a good man, and we had no doubt of his safety.
But, oh! how sad and distressing such a termination
must be to a good man's earthly career.

April 2nd.—I went to Teekiu, intending to meet
797 the king, and to propose that I should visit the
798 heathen rebels of Houma, with his sanction, and
669 with such terms of peace as he might judge expedient,
so that, if possible, a peace may be brought
about even now. This is the first day in which the
troops have marched upon the place in a body, and
I therefore thought one more effort toward peace
might be attempted. Before, however, I had
[726] reached Teekiu, the king and his warriors had left;
and while I was still there, heavy firing was heard

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726
[797]

in the direction of Houma, which is only some three miles distant.

April 3rd.—The firing, yesterday, was only kept up upon Houma whilst the king's party reconnoitred in different directions; but to-day the heathen have made a sally from the fort. A severe engagement has taken place. The firing was heard very plainly here at Hihifo. Several of the Houmans have been killed, and many wounded; but none of the loyalists have been injured, although the firing from the heathen was heavy and long continued. The death-drum has been beating all the afternoon. We have also heard heavy firing in the direction of the Bea fort, but do not yet know what has been transpiring there. We learn that the Mission ship has arrived from Vavau and Haabai.

[534]

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April 5th.—The Missionaries began their Annual Meeting this day. The chief subject of conversation was the heartrending condition of the country; and it was resolved that the resident Missionaries should remain at their posts, notwithstanding the danger and risk involved in so doing; because, being on the spot, their influence may be exerted to counteract the evils inseparable from the present state of affairs, and they can watch for any favourable opportunity to secure a peace. A review of the state of our Mission in Tongatabu, up to the period when the war commenced, showed that it had never been in a more encouraging or flourishing condition, whether spiritually or financially considered. Tonga, hitherto last and least, in Missionary successes in these parts, now stood as high as Vavau or Haabai, and, in some respects, even surpassed those groups. With this fact before us, we could not

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797 but weep over the desolation this war is likely to produce. We all heartily prayed that it might speedily terminate.

797 798 669 726 April 6th.—While our meeting was progressing, a severe battle was fought near Bea. Several of the king's choicest men have been slain, and many wounded. Among the mortally wounded I found an old friend of my own, Joseph Toga, a local preacher, and a noted chief of Vavau. He was shot through the lungs. He was still sensible, and could speak when I reached him. Immediately upon seeing me, he said, in the native language, "O, Mr. West, I am dying, dying fast; but my trust is in the Lord Jesus Christ. I could have wished to have died a different death; but I have been doing my duty to my king. I have no fear of death. Jesus is my Saviour, and I shall soon be with Him in heaven. Thanks, thanks!" As nothing could be done to save his life, I prayed with him, and then left to visit others of the wounded. He continued, as long as he could speak, to signify his steadfast trust in Christ; and in about an hour, from the time I saw him, he was released from all his sufferings. Another Vavau chief, called Fagubo, was shot dead; and his body having fallen into the hands of the rebels, they cut off the head, and carried it in triumph into their fortress. Josiah Vugakoto, the king's son, and Joeli Mafileo, the governor of Haabai, were also among the severely wounded. In addition to our spiritual duties, we did our best in a surgical capacity for the comfort and safety of them all.

797 798 669 April 14th.—Our brethren left us for Haabai and Vavau. Just as the anchor was weighing for departure, the commandant of the "Henri," a

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French vessel from Tahiti, came on board the 797
"John Wesley," to inquire why the brig was going 798
to sea, and leaving Tongatabu in its present distracted 669
state. We explained that the vessel was
taking back the Missionaries to Vavau and Haabai;
and that we, the resident Missionaries of this
island, were not leaving. After the "John Wesley" 797
had sailed, M. Nalliez visited the king, to 648
inform him that he was sent, by the French Governor 798
in Tahiti, to inquire into the state of the 669
Roman Catholic Missions; and if he found any
French priests in danger from the natives, he had
orders to remove them to Tahiti, should they express
such a wish. Upon being informed of the 797
origin of the war, and of the steps which the king 643
had taken in reference to the personal safety of the 648
priests in Bea, he remarked to the king, "If they
wish to go away, I can remove them to Tahiti; 798
but if they choose to remain, the consequences are 669
with themselves. You, as king, have done your
duty in offering them protection; and if they get
shot by accident, they will nobly fall in the performance
of their duty, and no Government in the
world will complain of either you or them." The
"Henri" having on board a Romish bishop from [726]
Samoa, who had come to visit his brethren in the
fortress of Bea, the king offered an escort to conduct
him, under a flag of truce, to the place, which
offer the commandant readily accepted for the following
day.

April 15th.—The king had made preparations to conduct the bishop to Bea, when the following letter was handed to me from the commandant, whom we had invited to accept the hospitalities of the Mission House during his stay.

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"SHIP 'HENRI,' *April 14th*, 1852.

797 "GENTLEMEN,

643 "I BEG your pardon for not being able to accept
648 your good invitation of yesterday; but, after new
798 consideration, I take the party to accompany the
669 lord bishop to Bea, *viâ* Mua, in my boat. With many thanks for your kindness, I remain, gentlemen, your most obedient servant. Will you be so good as to give thanks to the king for the escort he had the kindness to offer to me yesterday?

"The Commandant,
"N. J. NALLIEZ."

This polite note made it pretty evident who was master on board the "Henri." Bishop Battallion would rather risk being shot, while seeking a clandestine access to Bea, than he would accept an authority and protection for that purpose from a Protestant ruler. Accordingly, the wishes of the commandant were set aside by his spiritual superior, while the king had to submit to the indignity, cast upon him through the rejection of an escort, and by a secret visit to Bea from those who were leagued with the enemies of his government. In case, however, of any possible collision, between his own men at "the front" and the boat from the "Henri," the king forwarded instructions to those officers who were watching the various land and sea approaches to the Bea fort, to offer no kind of hindrance to the entrance or departure of the bishop and his party.

798 April 21st.—The king, not wishing to sacrifice
669 human life unnecessarily by storming the heathen
726 fortress, has resolved to invest it, and starve the inmates into submission. For this purpose he has

ordered the erection of a *cordon* of earthworks and 798
strong stockades, commanding all the approaches 669
to Bea. The trenches behind which these works 726
are to stand have already been dug.

May 10th.—The king having decided to make 797
another proposal of peace to the Houman people, I 798
offered to accompany the messenger, and to employ 669
what influence a Missionary might have on such 728
an occasion. Being well known to the Houmans, 643
my offer was gladly accepted. We accordingly 726
marched from Nukualofa to Nukunuku, so as to be in readiness to visit the rebel fort early in the morning. About a thousand men followed the king. As we wound along the narrow paths through the bush, the sight of so many armed men, marching in profound silence, was exceedingly interesting and impressive. A general halt was called at one point of the road, where some of the scouts thought they had discovered indications of an ambush. I had then an opportunity of observing a few of the native tactics. Coming immediately to myself, the king said, "*Misa Uesite, kocha te ke fai ekoe?*" "Mr. West, what will you do?" "Do?" I said; "remain where I am, if you think proper." "Very good," was the answer; and then he issued his orders. A strong party remained, where we were standing in the road, with the king and myself, whilst the remainder of the men spread out on either flank, to beat through the bush, and meet at a point agreed upon, to which the king's party was to advance on a given signal. All this movement was very rapidly accomplished. No ambush was discovered, and we soon reached Nukunuku in the midst of torrents of rain. Leaving the king there, I rode on to sleep at my

797 own house in Hihifo, having arranged to be at
798 Nukunuku shortly after daylight in the morning.

669 May 11th.—I reached Nukunuku during the
728 king's morning assembly with his chiefs. I soon
ascertained that something had happened to stop
643 the intended peaceful mission to Houma. Reports
726 had just been brought to the king, to the effect that the heathen of Houma had determined to kill any one, whether a Missionary or not, who might visit them on any such errand. The king asked me what I thought, and whether I was disposed to go, notwithstanding this report. I replied that my course would be determined according to the nature of the report. If it were only some ill-founded tale or rumour, I should not be deterred on that account; but if it had a good foundation, and was reliable, I could not feel myself justified in rushing knowingly into danger, and perhaps death. I begged him, therefore, first of all to ascertain the truth, or otherwise, of the report itself. Accordingly, inquiry was made, and the author proved to be a man who had recently deserted from the rebels. Upon being brought before the king for examination, he stated that the young chiefs had solemnly agreed to slay any messenger whom the king might send on a peace mission, even should the messenger be one of the Missionaries. We had every reason to believe the man's statement. Even if I had been willing to go, which, however, I was not, the king would not have allowed it. As it was, he led away his warriors without further delay to Houma, where, during the remainder of the day, an incessant fire was kept up upon the place, whilst I returned to Nukualofa, greatly disappointed that the object of my journey

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798 had not been accomplished. After giving all the
669 information I could to my brethren, Adams and
[728] Amos, I rode home twelve miles to Hihifo.

[643] Sabbath, June 20th.—I preached this morning
[726] at Hihifo, and in the afternoon I went to preach
at Nukunuku, accompanied, as usual, by a bodyguard of armed men. The Missionaries, throughout this war, have felt it to be their duty to visit regularly the few fortified towns, as well as the stockades and camps thrown up around Bea, for preaching and other spiritual purposes; but the king will not allow us to run the risk of travelling about alone. He has therefore ordered a guard of armed men always to go with us on such occasions. After preaching at Nukunuku, I mounted my horse, and, surrounded by my attendants, started
797 for Hihifo. We had not gone more than half a
mile when we were alarmed by the sound of a
798 volley of musketry at no great distance behind us.
669 Our first impression was that some one of our
726 number had fallen behind, and had been fired upon
by a concealed foe; but finding this was not the case, we began cautiously to retrace our steps. Another volley, and then the native shouts of triumph were heard, which convinced us that it was a friendly, and not a heathen, band. Hurrying forward, we met them in front of the entrance to
[727] Nukunuku, on their way to the presence of the
chief, one of the band carrying in triumph a human arm dangling on the point of a spear. These men had been on patrol duty, and having fallen upon a small party of heathens, a skirmish had ensued, in which they had killed one man. They were now returning to Nukunuku with the bloody evidence of what had been done. Alas! that the Lord's

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

day should be desecrated by deeds like these. I 797
could not but turn away from the scene with anger 798
and disgust, while longing and praying for the 669
return of blessed peace. 726

June 27th.—After preaching at Hihifo, I went to Teekiu in the afternoon. I had just commenced my sermon there, when we were disturbed by repeated and heavy volleys of musketry, apparently at a very short distance from the town. All the fighting men in the chapel took up their arms, and hurried off. It being impossible to continue preaching, I held a prayer-meeting with the women and old men still remaining. As the firing continued we felt assured that a conflict was progressing. The distance between Teekiu and the heathen fortress of Houma is only about three miles. We had not long concluded the prayer-meeting, when tidings were brought from the battle, by those who came carrying several wounded men into the town. The first I met was a young local preacher, who was shot through the back of the neck, the ball having passed completely through. This young man afterwards recovered, with extreme care and good nursing, no vital part having been touched. Another young man, whom I knew, and afterwards attended, was shot in two places through the back. He also recovered, although he was left somewhat crippled. Another was shot dead, who, I am afraid, was ill-prepared for such a sudden end. I returned to Hihifo shortly after sunset, accompanied by a small party of men. The firing having been heard at Hihifo, I found my dear wife and family all anxiety for my safety. Thank God for His continued protection and blessing in these troublous times; but O!

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that this sad and deplorable war were brought to an end.

These extracts from our Journal will sufficiently indicate the horrors, and daily alarms, through which all the Mission families passed, during several months. But perhaps our state at Hihifo was less enviable than that of our brethren at Nukualofa and Mua. The Mission residences there were enclosed within the fortifications of the towns, whereas ours stood outside, and were therefore exposed to the secret approach of any bold prowling heathen, who might fancy to burn down the place, in the dead of night. Of such [illegible]tention we received many warnings; and were kept by these in a state of continual alarm and watchfulness. When, however, the Hihifo people had so matured their plans as to cut off the Houmans from all outward communications, and from all intercourse with their allies at Bea, we then felt comparatively safe. [725]

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The Houmans were the first to yield before the king's power. It was known that only one thing had, for a long time, sustained their courage and hopes. They had heard that one of the Romish priests at Bea had sailed in a ship bound for Tahiti, with the avowed purpose of obtaining the interference and assistance of a French ship of war, on behalf of the heathen and Roman Catholic rebels, under the cloak, of course, of rendering protection to the French priests and their property. As might have been expected, the departure of the officious priest only hurried matters to a speedier conclusion. Although aware of the priest's purpose, the king offered no objection to his depar-

798 ture; but he sternly resolved to push the war to a 669 close before any foreign power could interfere.

[797] As weeks rolled past, the Houmans, closely [648] invested by the loyalists of Hihifo, began to suffer 798 from long confinement, and from the want of 669 proper and sufficient food. They were wearied out, 726 by the harassing fire of small arms poured upon them, and by their necessarily ceaseless watchfulness at night. Their counsels became divided, [728] their courage began to flag; and, finally, they became willing to entertain any proposals for peace which the king might see fit to offer. They yielded just in time to save themselves from a great 798 calamity. Finding that, without the aid of addi- 669 tional numbers, Bea could not be completely in- 726 vested, the king had concluded to bring the siege 728 of Houma to a close, by storming it, so that the whole of the troops hitherto engaged there might be concentrated upon Bea. Some intimation of this intention reached the Houmans, who immediately opened private negotiations with the loyalists, through Tuivakano, the chief of Nukunuku. Upon hearing this, the king sent our old friend Hafoka, and two other chiefs, with a flag of truce to the enemy, demanding, for the last time, an unconditional surrender of the place, with the promise that no life should be taken. These terms were accepted by Vaea and Fohe, the two leading chiefs of the town, whereupon orders were issued for the total suspension of hostilities; and an hour on the following day was appointed, when the vanquished chiefs were to be brought before the king at his camp near Bea.

798 On the 12th of July, the camp of the Christians 669 presented a stirring spectacle. Drums were beat-
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798 the men to be detained within his own camp during
669 the night, where they received the most hospitable
728 entertainment. But what formed the crowning
glory of the day was the fact that, when the hour
for evening devotions arrived, these pardoned rebels
felt themselves constrained, by a strong sense of
the truth and excellency of religion, to unite with
their friends in bowing the knee in prayer before
the great Jehovah.

798 On the following day, Vaea and Fohe returned
669 to Houma, with a proclamation of free pardon for
727 all the inhabitants, and a promise that none of
728 their property should be destroyed or injured. At
the same time, the town was to be held by a party
of the king's men, until his further pleasure should
be declared, as to the destruction, or otherwise, of
its fortifications.

On the following Sunday, I visited the fort,
797 arrangements having been made for holding a
religious service, at which Vaea and Fohe wished
to be present. Before commencing the service,
the people had arranged for a grand fusillade in
honour of the peace, and in testimony of their joy
at abandoning heathenism. Volley after volley
[202] rent the air, for a considerable time; but, at a
given signal, the firing ceased, and the drum, in
[534] the absence of a bell, having been beaten for public
worship, I preached to a very large congregation
of half-enlightened heathens. At this single
service above one hundred persons formally renounced
idolatry; and, from that day, regular
Christian means of grace were established in
Houma.

798 Meanwhile, the Bea fortress was besieged more
669 closely than ever. Had not its inmates been still
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22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

sustained by the hope of French aid, held out by 798
the priests, the fall of Houma would most likely 669
have been followed by their own immediate surrender. 726
Instead of this, they continued defiant in tone, and boastful, in the highest degree. The king, however, was all the more resolved, that the appearance of any French ship of war should be the signal for an instant and overwhelming attack upon the Beans; which, if it had unhappily taken place, would probably have ended in their complete extermination.

On Sunday, the 8th of August, I was preaching at the camp of the Hihifo men, who, after the submission of Houma, removed to Bea to complete its investment. Intelligence came from the king, as the service was closing, that a ship of war was off the island; that it was yet uncertain to what nation it belonged; but that every man was to be at his post, ready to advance against the enemy's works, and to storm the place, from all sides, the moment it could be ascertained that the long-expected French ship had come. It was a solemn and most exciting time and scene. On the following morning, however, the ship came to anchor; and, instead of an enemy, proved to be a friend. It was H.B.M.S. "Calliope," commanded by Sir Everard Home, Bart., senior commander of H.M. ships on the Sydney and New Zealand naval stations, and who himself was a personal friend of
King George. By his advice, after hearing the 798
state of affairs, the king made another and final 669
offer of peace, on the same terms of personal safety 728
that had been offered to Houma, but with a distinct [643]
stipulation for the entire demolition of the defences of the town. This offer was accompanied by a letter

798 to the French priests from the English commander,
669 stating his knowledge of the fact that, should this
728 offer of peace fail, the fortress would be stormed by
the Tonguese, and would most assuredly be taken.
In these circumstances, he offered them an asylum
on board his ship. This offer the priests declined,
signifying at the same time their willingness to abide
the result. The fears, however, of the rebel chiefs
were now considerably aroused; and their eyes
were also opened to see, to some extent, the folly
of trusting to French intervention. They accordingly
determined to surrender at discretion. Maafu
and Lavaka, the two leading chiefs, then came from
Bea to meet the king, and to arrange the mode of
submission. They intended to return immediately
when the business was completed; but the king
desired them to remain in his camp for the night,
as a precaution against any treachery.

798 On the following morning, Sir Everard Home,
Mr. Adams, and myself, visited Bea. When about
669 halfway to the king's encampment, we met messengers
727 posting down to Nukualofa, with the news
797 that Bea was then being sacked. Upon hearing
this, we rode forward with all speed, fearing lest
the Christian party might be hurried into excesses,
over which we should have to mourn. We resolved
at all hazards to do our best to prevent bloodshed.
Within half an hour after the king's army had
taken possession of Bea, we entered it, and immediately
[643] sought for the king. We found him busy
repressing the excitement of his men, and engaged
in placing a guard for the protection of the property
and houses of the French priests. There was
great commotion, and already the town was set on
798 fire in several localities. It appeared that early in
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the morning, the Vavauans had observed one of 798
the gates of the fort almost unguarded, upon which 669
they immediately advanced with their entire force. 727
Gaining an easy access, they called out to the few 726
Beans, who seemed disposed to dispute their progress,
not to fire, and all would be well. No shots,
therefore, were exchanged. The heathen, in fact,
were thoroughly surprised and panic-stricken.
The Vavauans then raised the shout of victory,
which being heard by all the rest of the king's
warriors outside, a general rush was made on the
place from all points, even before the real cause of
the movement was ascertained. The king himself 798
was at breakfast when intelligence was brought that 669
the Vavau people were masters of the fort. No 727
lives were lost on either side in the rush that took 643
place; but an immediate sacking and destruction
of houses began, which was only quelled by the
immense personal exertions and authority of the
king. We also did our utmost, along with Sir
Everard Home, in aiding his majesty to restrain
the passions of the conquerors. Mr. Adams and
myself assisted in saving the effects of the French
priests from the destructive advance of the fire,
which had already destroyed many houses, and was
rapidly approaching their large chapel and personal
residence. Happily these were preserved
almost without injury, through the indefatigable
exertions of the king and a number of his own
men. Before the day closed, all danger as to the
perpetration of any atrocities upon the vanquished
was over; and we felt that, after the noble display
of Christian forbearance shown by the king, and by
the whole Christian army under his command, we
might return to Nukualofa, to sleep in peace.

commence a conflict with the Tonguese. They in- 648
quired why the Tonguese delayed, and said that the 721
firewood they had cut for cooking them was getting rotten.

Before taking any further steps, King George 797
waited upon the Missionaries for their advice, in 643
reference to joining his forces with those of Tha- 648
kombau. They told him that they could not take 721
upon themselves the responsibility of tendering any advice; and that he and his chiefs, with Thakombau, must act on their own judgment and responsibility. King George then decided to become Thakombau's ally.

Accordingly the Fijian and Tonguese fleets, and 648
fighting men, assembled at a place called Kiuva, 726
and from thence advanced upon Kamba, on Saturday, the 7th of April. Although met by a brisk fire from Mara and his men, the forces of the combined fleet effected a landing. This accomplished, King George headed a large party of his own people, who went to cut down trees for the construction of stockades round the enemy's town and fortifications. While he was absent on this work, some of the remaining Tonguese went towards the enemy's works, and were shot. The Fijians managed to club two or three of them, and dragged their bodies into the town to be cooked. This infuriated the Tonguese, who, notwithstanding the king's absence, rushed upon the place and took it by storm. The first intimation King George had of the fact, was from the smoke of the burning town. The Tonguese took many prisoners, and protected all they could; but the Fijians acted very differently. They destroyed not less than one hundred and fifty persons, including men, women, and even children. The attack and conquest of the

648 726 place occupied about three hours. It was one of the strongest fortifications in Fiji, and was defended by a great number of the best warriors of the country. They were, however, no match for the Tonguese. According to the practice of Fijian warfare, most of the prisoners remaining at the close of the fight would have been butchered, and many of them cooked and eaten; but, by the interposition of King George and the Tonguese, such a terrible calamity was averted; not one was injured.

On the 13th of the same month, a fleet of one hundred and forty-three canoes sailed for Kumi, another town whose people had combined with Mara in defying the Tonguese and the Bau chief. But when they saw the vast fleet, and the strength of the Tonguese and Fijian hosts arrayed against them, their hearts failed them, and they instantly submitted without a contest. None of the inhabitants were injured in person, but the town itself was burnt to the ground. After this, overtures of peace came from numerous Fijian towns that had been in arms against Thakombau. Among these were Leva, Buretu, Nakelo, Vutia, Toga, and Naitajili. Not less than fifty towns signified their submission to Bau; and, from many of them, earnest requests came for Christian instructors.

Nineteen of the Tonguese were slain in the attack upon Kamba, and four others died during an epidemic which broke out about the same time. 648 Mara, the ringleader of the rebels, made his escape from Kaba to Buretu. He fled again from thence to Nakelo, and then to Kumi. When Kumi was taken, he fled again, and found refuge in Ovalau, where he remained for several months, and where

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
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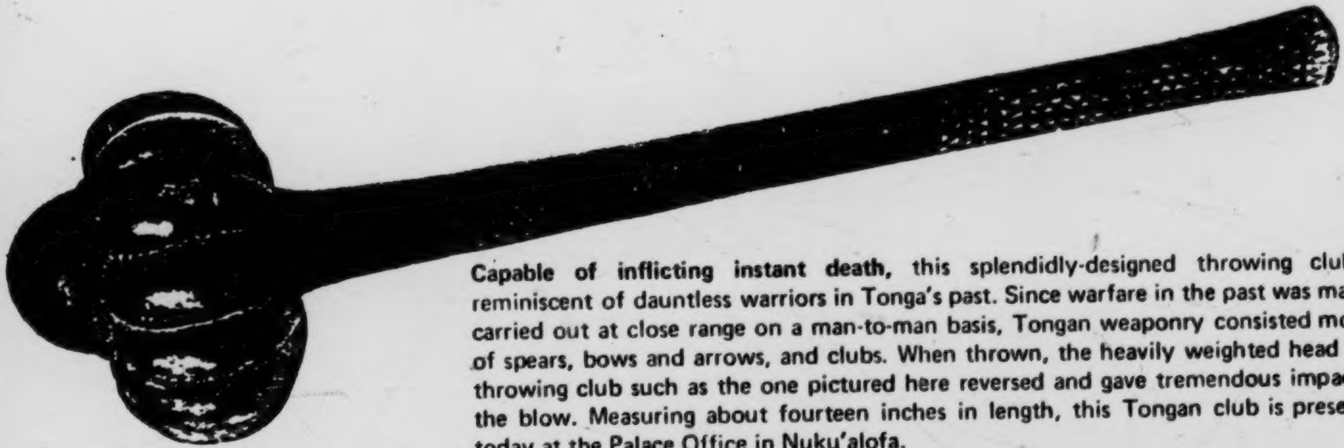

Capable of inflicting instant death, this splendidly-designed throwing club is reminiscent of dauntless warriors in Tonga's past. Since warfare in the past was mainly carried out at close range on a man-to-man basis, Tongan weaponry consisted mostly of spears, bows and arrows, and clubs. When thrown, the heavily weighted head of a throwing club such as the one pictured here reversed and gave tremendous impact to the blow. Measuring about fourteen inches in length, this Tongan club is preserved today at the Palace Office in Nuku'alofa.

Lavanoa ke tamate'i 'aki ha taha. Ko e taha eni e ngaahi povai na'e fai 'aki e tau 'a e kau Tonga he taimi ko e. Na'a nau lahilahi ngaue'aki pe 'a e tao, ngahau mo e povai. Na'e 'iloa foki e poto mo e to'a 'a e kau Tonga 'i he mala'e tau. Na'e fu'u fakatu'utamaki 'aupito foki hono ngaue'aki e ngaahi povai hange ko ia 'oku ha heni. Ko e povai ko 'eni 'oku tauhi ia 'i he 'ofisi Palasi, Nuku'alofa.

[p. 9-A]

538 In addition, Tongan art included oral traditions, for a vital part of the early Tongan educational system was the careful memorization and oral transmission of legends and lineages. In fact, just as important as the techniques and skills that each master craftsman passed on to his successor were the prayers, myths and geneologies which had to be imparted as well.

537 As oratory has long been an art, it is significant to
note that Tongans have always been eloquent
people. Skilled orators were necessary for inspiring
● [726] people to perform community projects and, in time
of war, for exciting the zeal of warriors[4]—such as
the way that the dauntless leader, Finau 'Ulukalala
II, roused his soldiers' enthusiasm when he said
forcefully in a speech at Vava'u: "Be brave in battle;
fear not death. It is better to die fighting in the field
than to live to be assassinated at home, or to perish
by a lingering illness."[5]

304 Tattooing became popular for a time in Tonga,
most probably as a result of frequent contacts with
[177] Samoa (where the highly-perfected art of tattooing
is still practiced today). According to Mariner in the
[237] early 1800's, Tongan men were elaborately tattooed
from waist to knees by use of a small-tooth comb
made from the wild duck's wing-bone, which was
dipped in a mixture of soot and water and then
tapped with a green branch to puncture the skin.
The esteem with which tattooing was held was no
doubt because of the intense pain which had to be
borne in order for the intricate designs to be
permanently imprinted on the skin. Mariner
remarked: "It is considered very unmanly not to be
tattowed, so that there is nobody but what submits
to it as soon as he is grown up."[6] Women also, as
Captain Cook had observed some years earlier, were
tattooed in smaller, less extensive patterns on the
[797] arms, hands and fingers. Largely due to the
missionaries' strong opposition to it as an evil and
[178] unhealthy practice, tattooing died out in Tonga
sometime later in the 1800's.

532 The coming of the westerners generally had a
177 detrimental effect upon art in Tonga. Many valuable
artifacts were destroyed because they were seen as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16A]

669 tian stronghold of Nuku'alofa, were preparing to do battle. On Sunday 8
January while the Christians were at worship, the heathens attacked.[56]
669 Token resistance was shown by the Christians on the sabbath, but this was
726 followed up on the Monday by full scale retaliation. Ngele'ia was stormed.
Its fortifications were razed, its buildings burned to the ground, 20 of its inhabitants killed and the remainder taken prisoner.[57]

A week later at the village of Hule the heathen party again attacked the Christians while they were at worship. The skirmishes on the sabbath were
[727] followed a few days later by massive retaliation. King George and his
warriors stormed the fortress annihilating its population of 300 men, women and children, and reducing the village and its fortifications to a heap of ruins.[58]

669 The part played by the missionaries seems clear enough. They had not created civil war. Fighting had been going on intermittently since 1797.[59]
797 They had, however, in establishing the new order that was emerging with the widespread acceptance of Christianity, provided a model which allowed the Tongans to fight out their differences albeit with additional and somewhat changed motives.

669 The day before the massacre Thomas chose Joshua v 13-15 as a text when addressing a crowd of almost 2,000 people at Vava'u.[60] The passage
797 told of a heavenly figure who appeared to Joshua and his army just before
779 the siege of Jericho. The heavenly figure in the story revealed himself to Joshua as 'the captain of the host of the Lord', and it is probable that Thomas assured his hearers that the Lord would provide a similar guardian angel in these latter day assaults on Jericho. In the afternoon of the same day he chose Joshua x, which tells how Joshua responded to a call for help from the Gibeonites who were besieged by heathen foes.[61] In one of the bloodiest chapters in the Old Testament, the biblical historian tells how one after another of the heathen chiefs were set upon by Joshua and his army. The outcome of these battles was always the same and the repetition of the chorus monotonous: 'and Joshua smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed all the souls that were therein, he let none

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[113] [56] Spinney to Committee, quoting his Journal, 28 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M145); Watkin to Secretaries, 24 Mar. 1837, ibid.; Tucker to Secretaries, 28 Jan. 1837, ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[727] [175] [59] The fighting in 1799 was particularly bloody. A report from a London Missionary Society observer at the time spoke of 'heaps of [bodies] as large as the hull of the vessel . . . fifteen hundred or two thousand are lying upon one spot piled one upon another . . .'. ML, Hassall Papers, I, 66, CY A859.

[113] [60] Thomas, Journal, 22 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).

[61] Ibid.

669 cause'.[66] He led his warriors in prayer before both Hule and Ngele'ia, and
643 the prayers he offered immediately before the assault upon Hule filled his
797 warriors, many of them teacher-preachers, with an emotional thrill which
they later likened to their experiences 'when the revival of religion broke
[648] out'.[67] Some years later King George urged the Samoans not to fight among
themselves, pointing out that whereas in Tonga Christians had been fighting
669 heathens, in Samoa Christians were fighting Christians.[68] When Tucker
spoke to King George about the bloody battle at Hule the chief told the
643 missionary that he

> 797 had no intention whatever when marching to the place to destroy the women
> 726 and children, but gave orders to save them—but in a moment it came into his
> mind to put all to the sword—he said he believed it was the just judgement
> of God upon the people of that place.[69]

This 'impulse from heaven'[70] to put all to the sword bears a striking
resemblance to the contents of the books King George had been reading in
school and the sermons he had been hearing from the pulpit for some
669 considerable time before the outbreak of hostilities in 1837.[71] His tactics
during the war followed the biblical pattern. Like Jehosophat he had prayed
643 with his people before battle.[72] He divided his army into three divisions as
797 Saul had done when fighting the Ammorites;[73] he pursued his enemies and
725 destroyed them as David had done;[74] after routing the enemy he, like the
Biblical king, collected the spoils.[75] Father Chevron's charge that the
Wesleyans broke the teeth of heathen opponents recalls the Psalms reader:
'Thou has broken the teeth of the ungodly'.[76]

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[113] [66] Brooks to Secretaries, 17 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M145).
[113] [67] Stephen Rabone, Journal, 17 Jan. 1837, ML, MSS 47.
[68] Peter Turner, Journal, 2 Apr. 1848, ML, B309.
[113] [69] Tucker, Journal, 22 Mar. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145). The
influence of the *lotu* literature (scripture and other books) appears to have been underestimated
[113] by the church historians of Tonga who have tended to explain the behaviour of the Christians
[114] in 1837 in terms of a lapse into heathenism. Even if Tāufa'āhau reverted to the practices of
traditional warfare he was able to do so with the full sanction of the new teaching.
[113] [70] Beecham to Thomas, 28 Mar. 1857, WMMS, Outwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M150).
[71] It may be possible to explain Tāufa'āhau's tactics in other terms but their resemblance
to the biblical pattern is remarkable.
[113] [72] Brookes, Journal, 16 Jan. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence, (ANL, mf M145): II
Chronicles xx, 18
[113] [73] Tucker, Journal, 15 Feb. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145); *Ko e
Uluaki Buka a Samiuela* xi, 11.
[113] [74] Tucker, Journal, 22 Mar. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145). *Ko e
Same* xviii, 37.
[113] [75] Thomas, MS History of Tonga, p 1078 (ANL, mf M165); II Chronicles xx, 25.
[76] Letter from P. Chevron, Tonga, 11 July 1842, quoted in *Annales de la Propagation de la
[113] Foi*, XV (1843) 431; Letter from P. Chevron, Tonga-Tabou, 24 June 1843, quoted in *Annales* . . .,
XVII (1845), 98; *Ko e Gaahi Same a Tevita*, iii, 7.

of Velata the feats of a warrior named Tu'uhetoka of Ha'afeva, another 173
island of Ha'apai, who was considered by others to be one of the most outstanding 669
heroes. Naturally they sang the praises of their own two warriors, and said that after one skirmish Tāufa'āhau (King George) came and found Tu'uhetoka standing among a group of dead enemy warriors whom he claimed he himself had killed, but who, according to the 'Uiha people, were killed by another outstanding warrior named Puakatau whom Tu'uhetoka had himself killed out of jealousy.

In 1965 I visited the island of Lifuka where this war took place, and 123
was taken by the local people to what remains of the fortress of Velata itself, as well as to the historic tracts of land surrounding it. My local informants told me the names of these tracts of land (*api*) and also how these names 124
had arisen. One story was about Tu'uhetoka. They said that at the peak of a skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being over- 173
powered a warrior of outstanding calibre among the men of Ha'afeva inter- 669
vened, and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau 643
ploughed their way through *Tu'i Tonga*'s warriors, felling scores of them [726]
with their clubs while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic performance, Tāufa'āhau was said to have remarked that he was like a gigantic fish chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory Tāufa'āhau bestowed 173
upon him the name Tu'uhetoka (meaning 'standing in the face of defeat'), 729
and gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and [643]
called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later he was given the [553]
island of Ha'afeva as his estate (*tofi'a*),[8] and the name Tu'uhetoka became a [103]
noble title. [565]

I found oral traditions a useful supplement to written sources. Care 173
needed to be taken, however, that the oral traditions were in fact genuine 124
and not distorted versions of written accounts. I was able to detect a few [121]
cases where people claimed to have oral knowledge which turned out to be spurious. When I was at 'Uiha I asked the old men about a certain tradition 124
which existed there. After a while they became uncertain and said that Mr So-and-so, who was not present, knew all about it. Consequently we sent for him. He was a school teacher in his early 50s, who was able to read English books haltingly. What he had to tell turned out to be based on what he had read in a collection of tales written for schools. However the genuine oral 114
traditions proved to be a valuable check on the reliability of written sources. [121]
An example of this may be seen in the account of the destruction of the fort- [797]
ress, god houses and effigies of 'Uiha. Bishop Blanc has the following [798]
account in his history of Tonga: [643]

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[8] S. Latukefu, 'Church and State in Tonga', Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University (Canberra, 1967), 192. [113]

[176 cont.]

439 islanders, had likewise been plentifully sold, especially by several
175 people who came in large double sailing canoes from the neighbouring
609 islands. While we were at dinner, one of our shipmates was observed
175 on shore, surrounded by a great croud of natives; but no further
notice was taken of him, though he made signals for a boat. One of
our trading boats, which was sent ashore as soon as the crew had dined,
came near the place where he was stationed, and took him on board.
It proved to be our surgeon, Mr. Patton, who had been in the most
imminent danger of losing his life, by being carelessly left upon the
island without support. From his account it is very plain, that even
among these kind and well disposed people, there were some villains who
greatly resembled the wretches that infest our civilized countries.
He had left the landing place, and engaging a single native in his
service for a few beads, had rambled over great part of the island.
His success in shooting was considerable; the native carried eleven ducks,
with which he returned to the sandy cove. The boats having already left that
place, he was something disconcerted, and the croud pressed about
him, conscious that he was in their power. He walked therefore to
the rocky shore, just abreast of the ship, where our people saw him.
In going thither, the man who carried [177] the ducks endeavoured to
drop some of them; but Mr. Patton luckily turning about at that moment,
he picked them up again. The croud now pressed close about him,
and several of the men threatened him with jagged spears, whilst
nothing but the appearance of his fowling-piece kept them in awe.
[831 Several women were set on by the men, to draw him off his guard, by
726] a thousand lascivious gestures and attitudes; but his situation was of
too serious a nature to permit him to attend to them. After some time

643 battles.[10] His death marked the end of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua
634 line.[11]

In May 1799 'Ulukālala and his army attacked Hihifo. An eye-
669 witness account by Vason, a renegade L.M.S. missionary living
175 under Mulikiha'amea, reported that it was a tough and bloody
battle in which the Hihifo army was forced to retreat, leaving
175 many of their warriors behind, dead. Some took refuge at a
634 sacred burial place in Pangai, believing that its sanctity would
protect them from violence. Fīnau 'Ulukālala then appealed to
669 Vason to set fire to the sanctuary and he complied, throwing a
726 fire brand into the thatch of a house in the enclosure, which
ignited and quickly spread. Many of those sheltering inside were
burnt to death or killed by Fīnau 'Ulukālala's men as they tried to
[727] escape. 'Ulukālala's men dragged the bodies to the beach 'and
after inflicting every brutal insult of savage cruelty, roasted and
[266] ate them—thinking it was just revenge on their enemies to devour
them' (Orange 1840:175).

After he had defeated his opponents in Tongatapu in 1799,
175 and as a gesture of contempt and ridicule for the defeated party,
634 he and his half-brother, Tupouniua, set up a white pig in Hahake,
669 as Tu'i Kanokupolu, and one of his chiefs, Veahahake, as the
pig's representative (Blanc 1934:28) before proceeding to Ha'apai
[643] and Vava'u. In Ha'apai he crushed his opponents with utter
ruthlessness and made himself ruler of Ha'apai. Describing what
175 happened to his opponents in Ha'apai, Mariner recalled:

634 669 727

> Some were sent on board old and useless canoes, which were then scuttled and immediately sunk; others were taken three or four leagues out to sea, and being put in old leaky ones, and tied hand and foot, were left gradually to meet their fate. Those against whom Finow entertained the greatest inveteracy were taken to the island of Lofanga,

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[10] Vason, who lived with Mulikiha'amea, revealed that an arrangement had previously been made, that upon Tuku'aho's death, Mulikiha'amea would become Tu'i Kanokupolu (Orange 1840:163).

[727] [11] The L.M.S. missionaries gave a vivid description of the horrors of this war. They recorded how they saw a warrior being killed and, 'a fellow who had severed his head and body asunder was exhibiting them as a proof of his prowess; and even some of the women, as they passed him dipped their hands in his blood, and licked them' (*Missionary Transactions*, 10 May 1799:288).

> and there tied naked to stakes driven in the ground, or to the trunks 175 of trees and left to starve to death . . . Several of them bore their torments with the greatest fortitude, lingering till the eighth day, while 634 others of weaker constitutions died in three or four days. (Martin 669 1827, I:85-6)

727 From Ha'apai, 'Ulukālala and his warriors proceeded to Vava'u where after two weeks of sporadic fighting, the resistance collapsed 175 and the Tu'i Vava'u, Vuna III or Vuna Takitakimālohi, and his chiefs, including one of Fīnau 'Ulukālala's own sons, Moengāngongo, 634 who had sided with him, fled to Samoa. Fīnau 'Ulukālala 669 II had now become the ruler of both Ha'apai and Vava'u and from this time on the 'Ulukālala family assumed the title of Tu'i Vava'u. He made Tupouniua governor of Vava'u and Tupouto'a governor of Ha'apai. He then decided to move his residence to Ha'apai where he made preparation for further attacks on Tongatapu.

Meanwhile, in Tongatapu, the royalists determined to avenge what 'Ulukālala and his followers had done at Hihifo. In 1800 634 Vaha'i, one of the Ha'a Ngata Motu'a chiefs, and the strongest chief on Tongatapu at the time, led the men of Hihifo in a war 669 which is known as the Tau Fakalelemoa (battle of chasing fowls) 726 or Tau Langovaka (battle avenging defeat) (Collocott 1928:91). They marched from the west to the east of Tongatapu, defeating those who had supported Fīnau 'Ulukālala in 1799 everywhere they went. Vahe Loto, the centre of Tongatapu, was laid waste so that if ever Fīnau came back he would not be able to obtain provisions there. Houses were burnt down, and their inhabitants were driven into the sea to drown, or be slaughtered like chickens. At Poha, a mount between Hoi and Kolonga at Hahake, the 634 royalists made a great heap of the bodies of their enemies, 'by 669 being laid transversely upon each other, as a monumental trophy of the victory' (Orange 1840:186). They made it high enough for 727 them to be able to look at the island of 'Eua from the top of it. Then they built a fire round a huge stone, called Pitoi Tangata (human cooking stone). When it was red hot, they cut the human bodies open, roasted them on it and ate them in revenge.

Some of 'Ulukālala's men went to Tongatapu with Vason for supplies, and arrived just in time to witness the horror of the destruction and massacre of their former allies. They had to flee

634 for their lives, without provisions. On one of the islands off Tongatapu
they met Fīnau and his warriors. Joining him, they all sailed
669 for Tongatapu and landed at Hahake. There they observed the
727 shocking and sickening aftermath of the ravages perpetrated by
the royalists. They left Hahake to attack the royalists at Hihifo
634 and landed at Ma'ofanga, where they were joined by the people
of that place, and then marched on to Hihifo.

669 Fīnau 'Ulukālala found the royalists well fortified and firmly
726 entrenched, and, in the fierce battle which ensued, he was beaten
and driven back from Hihifo. He was then compelled to return to
Ha'apai, and for several years he made no further attempt to
invade Tongatapu on a large scale, contenting himself with a series
of surprise attacks, particularly at night. In these attacks, a few
unsuspecting victims would be killed, property hurriedly destroyed,
and the raiders would then quickly escape to their canoes, and sail
721 back to Ha'apai. It was not until the capture of the *Port-au-Prince*
in 1806, which brought an unexpected supply of guns as well as
713 the services of some of the crew of the ill-fated vessel, that another
major onslaught was made on Tongatapu.

Misery on Tongatapu was further intensified by the feuds
669 between the chiefs of its various districts who struggled for power
634 or tried to assert their independence. When Vaha'i died, two
prominent figures emerged, Teukava of Kolovai and Tākai of Pea,
628 both of whom had been closely associated with Vaha'i. The latter
had appointed Teukava as his successor at Polonga, Hihifo, and
ordered Tākai to build a fortress at Pea. Soon feuding broke out
between Tākai and Teukava.

In the meantime, Tupoumālohi, Tuku'aho's younger brother,
669 returned from Fiji where he had been for several years participating
643 in the fighting of the Fijian chiefs. He built Nuku'alofa as his
fortress and on the death of Ma'afu'olimuloa he succeeded to the
position of Tu'i kanokupolu. He found, however, that he had very
little influence among the chiefs, who wanted independence. The
threat from Tākai and his followers in the nearby fortress of Pea
compelled him to leave Nuku'alofa and join forces with Teukava.
Teukava was, however, defeated, killed and eaten by a Fijian
of Tākai's party at Te'ekiu. Tupoumālohi then left Tongatapu for
Ha'apai where he stayed with his nephew, Tupouto'a, son of

563 because of their skills in making and repairing iron tools and, more importantly, as interpreters between the two cultures.

With the guns of the *Port-au-Prince* and the services of the 634 Englishmen, Fīnau 'Ulukālala decided to launch another major 669 attack on Tongatapu. This new onslaught, in 1807, heralded a new phase in the history of warfare in Tonga, more dangerous and 726 devastating than ever before. The fortress at Nuku'alofa was de- 177 stroyed in record time. With the support of artillery and muskets, manned by Fīnau's white captives, the Tongans with their spears, [713] clubs and fire-brands in hand, burnt down the fortress, slaying its men, women and children. Mariner recorded this destruction:

> When Finow arrived upon the place, and saw several canoes, which had been hauled up on the garrison, shattered to pieces by the shot, and discovered a number of legs and arms lying around, and about three hundred and fifty dead bodies, he expressed his wonder and astonishment at the dreadful effect of the guns. He then thanked his men for their bravery, and Mr Mariner and his companions in particular, for the great assistance rendered by them. (Martin 1827, I:98)

669 On the advice of the priests, the victors rebuilt the fortress and, ignoring Mariner's advice to launch a full-scale invasion of Tonga- 727 tapu, they engaged only in light skirmishes. As there was an acute shortage of food due to civil war, some proposed killing the 669 prisoners and roasting them for food. 'The proposal was readily 727 agreed to, by some, because they liked this sort of diet, and by others because they wanted to try it thinking it a manly and 266 warlike habit' (Martin 1827, I:108).

Meanwhile, Tākai of Pea, a member of the Ha'a Havea, was 669 the most powerful chief in Tongatapu at the time. He entered into an alliance with 'Ulukālala, pretending to acknowledge his rule, 726 but immediately after the latter left for Ha'apai, Tākai and his 634 men destroyed the fortress which 'Ulukālala had rebuilt at Nuku-'alofa. This greatly angered 'Ulukālala, but further troubles in Ha'apai and Vava'u kept him occupied until his death in 1809.

The trouble in Vava'u and Ha'apai stemmed from a plot by 634 Tupouto'a, 'Ulukālala's other half-brother, to avenge himself upon Tupouniua who had murdered his father, Tuku'aho. Tupouniua 661 governed Vava'u on 'Ulukālala's behalf and was a popular and

643 669 A few years before, he had named the little girl after his mother, Houmofaleono. When he lifted her up and kissed her goodbye, his gesture so moved the child's mother, who was watching, that she broke down and wept, and then sent a message to her brother Havealeta, saying that she had decided to accompany Tāufa'āhau to defend him. This impulsive action changed her brother's mind and he gave his allegiance to Tāufa'āhau and accompanied him, after persuading his sister to remain.[10] The 'Uhia people were also planning to assist Laufilitonga, and it was no easy decision for Malupō and his two warrior sons to make, for they were close kin of both Laufilitonga and Tāufa'āhau. However, when the latter arrived in person at 'Uiha to plead for their support, they finally decided with much reluctance to join him.

The final battle took place in 1826.[11] After Laufilitonga had acknowledged defeat, he was permitted to remain, as long as he agreed to cause no more trouble. However, he decided to go back to Vava'u with Fīnau 'Ulukālala who came for him
643 (Blanc 1934:34). Later in 1827 he attended the installation of Aleamotu'a as Tu'i Kanokupolu in Tongatapu, and, in the same year, he himself was made Tu'i Tonga, and settled at Lapaha (Mu'a) until his death in 1865.

643 669 701 [726] [553] [727] [103]

[10] Among the men of Ha'afeva there was a warrior of outstanding calibre. At the heat of one skirmish in which Tāufa'āhau and some of his men were being overpowered, he intervened, and with a rare display of skill and courage, he and Tāufa'āhau ploughed their way through Laufilitonga's men, felling scores of them with their clubs, while the rest fled. Watching this warrior's heroic performance, Tāufa'āhau remarked that he was like a gigantic fish chasing a shoal of small fish. After the final victory, Tāufa'āhau bestowed upon him the name of Tu'uhetoka (standing in the face of defeat), gave him a sizeable portion of land at Lifuka, just alongside his own, and called it Ikalahi (big fish) in memory of his gallantry. Later the name Tu'uhetoka became a noble title and was given Ha'afeva as his *tofi'a* (inheritance).

[11] Wood (1932:43) states that 'there were two series of wars, in both of which Tāufa'āhau's chief opponent was Laufilitonga. The first series was before 1827 when Laufilitonga became Tu'i Toga, and the other consisted of fights after that date but particularly in 1832 and 1833.' The missionaries began their work in Ha'apai in 1830, and there is no evidence of any war in Ha'apai from their records since that date, except the destruction of the fortress of 'Uiha in 1833, although no fighting occurred there.

797 tion that a victory for the Tu'i Kanokupolu and King George and
their new religion would mean an end to their arbitrary powers
643 over their subjects and deprive them of their privileges. They were
669 probably confident of their own strength, remembering how both
798 Fīnau 'Ulukālala and Tupouto'a, with their warriors from the
northern groups, had failed to defeat them at the beginning of the
565 century. The heathen chiefs were thus firmly resolved to halt the spread of Christianity, and, if need be, to fight, in order to protect both their religion and their political independence.

It has been alleged that the war between the heathens and
669 Christians, which broke out in 1837, was a purely religious conflict.
798 Basil Thomson (1894:350-1), who took this view, stated:

> It was a missionary war—a crusade in which the club and the Bible were linked against the powers of darkness; and no knight-errant ever went against the Crescent with greater zest than the new converts showed in their quarrel with their heathen countrymen.

This over-simplified view of a complex situation completely fails to take into account the underlying power struggle, which was much older and more basic than the religious issues which appeared on the surface to have precipitated this war.

The war began on 8 January 1837. The heathens chose the
669 Sabbath day on which to attack, thinking the Christians would
726 not defend themselves, but they were proved mistaken. According to Watkin, who was an eye witness, the Christian fortress was well guarded, and the attackers were easily driven off, although two of the Christians were wounded. Watkin (Journal, 11 Jan. 1837) wrote, 'They [the heathens] have therefore actually commenced the war, and God will I trust vindicate his own cause'. King George waited till the following day, then led his men to attack the nearest heathen fortress of Ngele'ia which had been built by Lualala with the assistance of the chiefs of Pea. When they came in sight of the fortress, he called his men around him to give them their orders, and before they launched their attack, they prayed together 'and felt (according to their own expression) just as when the revival of religion broke out' (Rabone, Journal, 17 Jan. 1837).
[727] In the surprise attack that followed all twenty-six warriors in the
fortress were killed, 'among whom were some of the greatest

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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persecutors in Tonga, and many of the relatives of Lavaka [one of the leading chiefs of the Ha'a Havea] who is chief promoter of the present war' (Watkin, Journal, 11 Jan. 1837). 669 [726]

News of this victory reached the mission headquarters in Vava'u, [727] but it was also learned that in spite of this set-back the heathens were determined to continue their resistance and gave no signs of easy surrender. Thomas, who received news of the encounter, wrote in February 1837:

> Tonga has stood out against God for many years. They prefer darkness to light, because their deeds are evil. The obstinate unbelief of the Jews was the cause of their being destroyed by tens of thousands if not hundreds of thousands. It is very painful to see our dear people taken away from their peaceable dwellings—from their wives and families and parents to go to war, and yet so satisfied are the people of the goodness of their cause. They are most willing to leave all and to go both to suffer and to die if God requires them in his good cause. We have heard nothing for the last three weeks, but hope all is well, and God will continue to interfere in behalf of his cause. (Thomas to Committee, 2 Feb. 1835, WMMS 1822-55)

The missionaries were anxiously awaiting news of a settlement of the war, for they wanted an early peace, though not a peace at any price. Rabone (Journal, 21 Jan. 1837) wrote, 'we begin to feel anxious to hear again from Tonga . . . they are at war if so some will fall on both sides. O may the Lord speedily interpose and give the victory in favour of our Israel.'

On Sunday, 15 January, a week later, the heathens decided to destroy the Christians' plantations thinking that they would not guard their gardens on the Sabbath. Again they were proved wrong for, while they were busily engaged in this destruction, the Christian warriors rushed upon them and pursued them right to the gates of Pea itself, killing nine and wounding many others. The Christians suffered the loss of one man and another was seriously wounded and died later. The next day, the Christians burned a sacred canoe and took the small fortress of Te'ekiu (Watkin, Journal, 12 Feb. 1837). 669 726 [727]

King George's next attack was centred upon the fortress of Hule which was Tu'ivakanō's fortress, from which he had been forced to flee. Tu'ivakanō had appealed to King George to destroy 669 726 643

669 the fortress and wipe out his opponents. The King offered the
leaders of Hule terms of surrender, but they refused and the fort-
726 ress was stormed on 25 January. About three hundred men,
643 women and children were killed, Tu'ivakanō himself and his fol-
[727] lowers playing a leading part in this massacre.

It is interesting to note the more ruthless and aggressive stand
669 taken by King George during this war. In these two encounters the
power struggle was approaching its peak. Lualala had left Vava'u
643 and allied himself with the Ha'a Havea chiefs. The apparent intentions of this dangerous alliance must have awakened in him the old savagery and fighting spirit which had lain dormant for several years to such an extent that they momentarily overshadowed the Christian influence on his actions and life. Later in the 1840 war when he and his warriors besieged Kolovai, King George told his men:

> Our late war with the heathen, three years ago, was by the mercy of God, a victorious one. But, though we got the victory, in some things we went astray. We fought not as Christians should fight. Our object then was not to save, but to destroy. But you all now present, hear from me, that we do not so fight again. If, as may be expected, the enemy should come out of their fortress to-morrow morning, let every man endeavour to seize and save his man, and not one to shoot or strike, but in case of life and death. (Farmer 1855:317)

However, the serious threat which the heathen opposition posed not only to his own future, but to the future of monarchical authority and the rule of law, and also to his newly adopted religion, must all have spurred him on to crush the rebellion with ruthless vigour.

669 The missionaries did not condemn the indiscriminate slaughter
727 of the inhabitants of Hule. They regarded it as a divine judgment
—an inevitable consequence of the sinfulness of the heathens.
797 When the news of the massacre reached Vava'u, Rabone (Journal, 14 Feb. 1837) wrote, 'It does indeed appear that the Tonga heathen are given up to a reprobate mind and are bent upon their own destruction, for they have positively refused to "Lotu", and madly prefer dying in their sins'. While the missionaries boasted about the willingness of their converts to die for their faith they

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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saw no merits whatsoever in the determination of the heathens to die for theirs. 669

Several months later, when Rabone himself passed through Hule on a trip from Hihifo to Nuku'alofa, he wrote: 727 798

> Hule is the place in which so many lost their lives when King George with his people attacked and destroyed their fortress this took place early in February last, and yet the bones of many are to be seen dried under the sun. I counted 12 skulls in a circumference of 3 square yards. Scores have been buried but many remain as visible mark of God's displeasure against sin—this was an awfully wicked fortress, but judgement has overtaken them and there scarcely remains one that escaped. (Rabone, Journal, 27 Sept. 1837)

Further skirmishes occurred and on 8 February Pea was again attacked, with the loss of thirteen heathens and three Christians. Meanwhile King George sent for reinforcements from Vava'u. Referring to this new call up, Rabone (Journal, 16 Feb. 1837) wrote that if he understood it correctly, the intention was to make 'a desperate attack upon the Heathen who positively refuse to "lotu" or to turn to God without they do this there is no ground of hope for their being better subjects or in any respect'. At any rate, 200 or more men left Vava'u in four canoes in February with Rabone's prayer, 'O Lord do thou undertake for thy people and speedily bring the war to an end' (Rabone, Journal, 18 Feb. 1837). 669 726

Indeed, the war was speedily brought to an end, for with the 200 or more men as reinforcements, the heathens lost heart and ceased their offensive. King George was then able to extract from them a promise to desist from further persecution of Christians as a condition for peace. Although Aleamotu'a and King George were in a winning position, they did not wish to continue the war, thus supporting the missionaries' contention that the war was largely fostered by the heathen chiefs. 669 728

In April the warriors from the north returned to their respective places. Rabone (Journal, 12 April 1837) gave an account of the welcome back to Vava'u:

> We went down to welcome them back the sight was to me very affecting & interesting. . . . We indeed were glad to see them, and more especially when as soon as they spoke they attributed their

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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personal prowess as warriors they were revered by both Christians 669
and heathens. They had, on several previous occasions, managed
to exert their influence to avert armed clashes between the two 797
factions of the Hihifo community. [554]

War broke out in January 1840. The incident which triggered
it was the removal of some sticks from one of the heathen god- 669
houses by the Christians. Why they did so is not known, but the 798
heathens were greatly angered, and were probably awaiting an
opportunity such as this to make trouble. They attacked and 669
killed four Christians, and war began. Aleamotu'a went to
Hihifo, to try to make peace, but failed. Several other attempts 726
at a settlement were made, but they also failed. Eventually
Aleamotu'a sent for King George who arrived shortly after with
his warriors from the north. Kolovai was besieged and surrendered
after a short time, but Pea, Houma and Vainī continued to resist.

Commodore Wilkes arrived in Tonga on 24 April and offered 669
to act as conciliator.[2] He was unsuccessful in his attempt and he
blamed the missionaries for his failure. However, one of the 728
missionaries wrote: 797

> An ill-arranged and fruitless attempt was made by Commodore Wilkes to bring the contending forces to peaceful terms. He seems to have acted upon the supposition that the heathen were the aggrieved and injured individuals; and when he found that these both duped him and robbed him, notwithstanding his good opinion of them, instead of manfully acknowledging that the representations made by the Missionaries were true, he left the islands in anger; and in evident chagrin at being outwitted and laughed at by the heathen, he

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[2] Most writers state that the missionaries requested Wilkes to intercede, but Rabone (Journal, 24 April 1840), who was present, recorded:

> Commander Wilkes arrived—several gentlemen immediately came on shore and invited Bro T & myself on board—we went and have had a long conversation—principally in reference to the heathen & the present state of Tonga—he expressed his earnest desire to make peace between the contending parties and for the arrangement of this affair has requested a meeting of the Chiefs tomorrow morning. May the blessedness of peace making be his portion.

Wilkes (1845:179) states, 'Believing that I might exert an influence to reconcile the parties, and through my instrumentality restore the blessings of peace, I proffered my services to that effect, which were warmly accepted by the Reverend Mr. Tucker'.

669 Skirmishes occurred between both sides, with the loss of
several lives on both sides. On 21 April, the King, 'not wishing
726 to sacrifice human life unnecessarily' by storming the heathen
fortresses, resolved to besiege them, in order to starve the rebels
into submission. Pea was besieged by four divisons from Nuku-
'alofa, Mu'a, Ha'apai and Vava'u, and Houma was entrusted to
797 Ata and the Hihifo warriors. Apparently there was a hope among
the rebels that the Bishop would return with a French man-of-war
669 by the end of April. After a while, however, the priests decided
that one of them should go to Tahiti to inform the officer commanding the French men-of-war of their danger. Consequently Father Calinon left for Tahiti on the *Ataiina* on 27 June. Undoubtedly Father Calinon's trip raised considerable hope among the rebels for French intervention to settle the war in their favour. But after a month of expectation, Houma could not hold out any longer, and on 11 July, Vaca and Fohe surrendered. Commenting on this, West (1865:329) wrote:

> It was known that only one thing had . . . sustained their courage and hopes. They had heard that one of the Romish priests at Bea had sailed in a ship bound for Tahiti, with the avowed purpose of obtaining the interference and assistance of a French ship of war, on behalf of the heathen and Roman Catholic rebels, under the cloak, of course, of rendering protection to the French priests and their property.

Meanwhile, Pea held out a little longer, believing that a French man-of-war might arrive on any day to assist, and at the same time the King instructed his army to attack Pea immediately if a French man-of-war were sighted. On 9 August a ship appeared and everyone waited anxiously to ascertain if it were the long-expected French ship. However, it turned out to be the H.M.S. *Calliope,* commanded by Captain Sir Everard Home, a personal friend of King George. Sir Everard offered protection to the priests of Pea in his ship, but the priests declined the offer saying that they were in the fort for the sole reason of administering to their people and that they were prepared to lay down their lives, if necessary, for the sake of their calling.

[643] However, on 17 August 1852 Pea surrendered and on the following day its fortifications were levelled and Sir Everard Home